



Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-90-165
Friday
24 August 1990

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FBIS-SOV-90-165

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U.S. Experts Visit Chemical Weapons Facility

LD2408093290 Moscow TASS in English 0927 GMT 24 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Ivanov]

[Text] Kambarka (Udmurt Autonomous Republic) August 24 TASS—Leading U.S. experts in the destruction of chemical weapons have become the first foreigners to visit the Soviet military chemical facility at Kambarka, where stocks of the blister toxic agent, Lewisite, are kept.

The American delegation, made up of representatives of the U.S. Defense Department, the State Department and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, today familiarised themselves with the storage of chemical weapons at the facility. They also got acquainted with the selection of toxic samples from making quantitative and qualitative analysis, and the organisation of international control within the framework of a chemical weapons convention, which is now being elaborated.

The U.S. specialists came to the facility in accordance with a memorandum of understanding between the USSR and U.S. governments on a bilateral experiment in verifying and exchanging data relative to the prohibition of chemical weapons. This document was signed by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker during their meeting in Wyoming in September in 1989.

Chemical Weapons Plant Becomes Training Center

PM2308112090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by own special correspondent A. Gorokhov under the rubric "It Was Reported Yesterday...": "The Plant Was Built, But..."]

[Text] Chapayevsk, Kuybyshev Oblast—Without vigorous action now we will be unable to rid our country of chemical weapons stocks. That is the conclusion prompted by a visit to the USSR Defense Ministry facility for the destruction of chemical weapons sited near the city of Chapayevsk, Kuybyshev Oblast, which was initially intended to develop techniques to destroy chemical munitions containing phosphororganic agents.

The plant, with its own residential settlement, was designed to destroy 350 tonnes of chemical agents a year, has already cost the state 50 million rubles [R], and was built virtually from scratch in three years, but was converted—by a USSR Council of Ministers order of 5 September 1989—into a training center for the development of technological processes in inert—let me stress—environments, that is to say, without even the microscopic presence of actual toxic substances, and, of course, for the training of personnel for future industrial enterprises for the destruction of chemical weapons.

"This decision," Colonel A. Garkavenko, chief of the facility, told me, "was taken under pressure from the public of Chapayevsk and nearby population centers, who are worried about the already depressing environmental situation in this part of Kuybyshev Oblast."

In short, without having worked a single moment on combat chemical agents, the Chapayevsk plant was turned into a training center.

The following must clearly be said today. Chemical weapons production stopped in the Soviet Union in 1987, and 40,000 tonnes of them are stockpiled. Some depots store combat chemical agents produced as far back as the end of World War II. American stocks are estimated at 38,000 tonnes. Any delay in starting the actual destruction of these lethal stockpiles, particularly old stock, carries with it a threat which has not yet been really appreciated, it seems to me, by either our or the American public.

"Here 'company secrets' have to take a back seat," observed Candidate of Chemical Sciences V. Sheluchenko, chief specialist on problems of chemical weapons destruction at the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry.

It is difficult to disagree with that opinion, particularly as the "period of adjustment" between Soviet and American scientists and military men, as emerges from recent meetings and exchange visits, is coming to an end. This, incidentally, was demonstrated once again by the recent visit to Chapayevsk by a large group of American specialists. The elaboration of procedures for mutual inspections is now under way, and common approaches and acceptable techniques are being sought.

Flaws, Implications of START Draft Viewed

PM2308135590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 23 Aug 90 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Lieutenant General M. Vinogradov and Major General V. Belous under the rubric "What the Generals Think About Disarmament": "The Strategic Offensive Arms Treaty and Our Security"]

[Text] Among the problems discussed by the two countries' top leaders during USSR President M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the United States the greatest interest throughout the world was undoubtedly generated by the unblocking of the logjam of obstacles and preparation for the conclusion of a Strategic Offensive Arms Reduction Treaty.

While generally making a positive assessment of the orientation adopted toward the reduction of the quantity of strategic arms, it should also be stressed that the improvement of the combat potential of this class of weaponry substantially devalues the planned reduction in the numerical level of military confrontation.

The adoption of numbers of strategic delivery vehicles and warheads as the main criteria of parity is a definite

concession to the United States since the United States has a qualitative advantage in most of these types of weapons.

According to data from the Natural Resources Council of America, the U.S. arsenal of strategic offensive arms includes nuclear warheads with a total yield of approximately 3,000 megatonnes. According to their calculations, the USSR's total megatonnage is approximately twice as great. Here ground-launched intercontinental missiles account for around 60 percent of the USSR's weapon yield, whereas submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBM's) and air-launched cruise missiles (ALCM's) account for 80 percent of the United States' ballistic missile warhead yield. Total warhead megatonnage combined with comparatively low targeting accuracy is of greater significance when attacking extensive, large targets like cities and industrial centers. In other words, the Soviet Union's strategic nuclear systems are more oriented toward retaliatory counterstrikes, which is in line with the basic tenets of Soviet military doctrine. In contrast to this, the United States' strategic offensive arms are oriented, both now and in the long term, toward the buildup of counterforce potential, which is more in keeping with the concept of a first, destructive strike.

The overall strategic arms ceilings of 1,600 delivery vehicles and 6,000 warheads that have been established are intended to reduce the volumes of stockpiled nuclear weapons. Although, as we will demonstrate below, it has not proved possible to fully realize the original plans. At the same time there are quite enough remaining stockpiles to be able to continue to perform the role of a deterrent against war being unleashed on either side.

The reaching of agreement on establishing an ALCM launch range limit should be categorized as one of the positive elements of the future document. As is known, this parameter has now been restricted to 600 kilometers.

In the course of the talks it proved possible to crack another tough nut—the problem of counting and limiting sea-launched cruise missiles. The key element is the agreement that was reached on removing strategic arms of this class from the framework of the treaty. The two sides have the right to deploy no more than 880 such missiles. Currently the United States has around 350, while the USSR has none.

An extremely favorable factor in the Soviet Union's favor is the accord that was reached on the deployment of mobile missiles (ICBM's), which we have but the United States does not as yet. By virtue of their comparatively great first-strike invulnerability (survivability), mainly because of the uncertainty of their whereabouts, they are intended for launching a counterstrike and constitute a serious deterrent. Currently the United States does not possess—in either quantitative or qualitative terms—the space reconnaissance satellites to be

able to reliably determine the coordinates of concealed mobile ICBM's on a real-time basis and target them with attack systems.

At the same time we are by no means idealizing the draft treaty or considering it optimal.

You get the impression that the U.S. side's greatest interest is in weakening the Soviet ICBM grouping, which is currently the main deterrent force. At the same time, aware of its superiority in SLBM's and heavy bombers, the United States, guided by the "competitive strategies" concept, is not averse to nudging the USSR into reinforcing these particular components of the "triad." It is no coincidence that in the draft treaty the Soviet Union is allowed to deploy an additional 60 heavy bombers (the United States has over 150). If you take the analogous U.S. B-1 aircraft as a basis, the cost of that program would total \$18-20 billion. Unfortunately, given the conditions of secrecy which, not always justifiably, persist in the military field, we have been forced to cite foreign sources.

As is known, the United States currently has an advantage over the USSR in the number of warheads carried by strategic delivery vehicles. Unfortunately the draft treaty has also failed to eliminate this imbalance in one of the main parameters of the sides' combat potentials.

Speaking in the USSR Supreme Soviet, the country's president, M.S. Gorbachev, stated that after the arms cuts have been made the USSR will be left with 7,400 weapons [boyezaryad] and the United States with 8,300. Some U.S. specialists indicate that this disparity could be greater. For example, specialists from the Natural Resources Council of America estimate that after the treaty is implemented the United States could still have 8,900 warheads while the USSR would have 6,900. This is because of the equivalence rule for counting ALCM's, and American heavy bombers' ability to carry twice as many weapons as is shown by the total count (the count assumes 10 weapons but the actual figure can be up to 20).

Despite something of a revision of strategic concepts in their vision of a future world order, the U.S. ruling circles continue to maintain "position of strength" policy stances. Recent statements by President G. Bush and Defense Secretary R. Cheney testify that in addition to plans for reducing conventional arms and general-purpose armed forces, the strategic nuclear force modernization programs retain their topicality and will be undeviatingly implemented.

The military-strategic parity which currently exists between the USSR and the United States has a substantial "safety margin." The margin will shrink as arms are reduced. There is therefore a need for more rigorous consideration of all the factors.

It should be borne in mind that after the planned arms reduction is effected the significance of certain factors currently outside the negotiating framework will

sharpen. We are referring first and foremost to the weapons of the other nuclear powers—Britain, France, and the PRC. The reduction of the USSR and U.S. nuclear potentials is being accompanied by a simultaneous stockpiling of nuclear weapons in those countries, and to disregard their impact on the correlation of forces between the sides would be unrealistic and unjustified.

In the assessment of prominent American nuclear weapons expert T. Taylor, at the end of the eighties Britain had 700 nuclear warheads and France, 500. The threat to the Soviet Union can be confirmed by evidence from the newspaper L'HUMANITE cited in a letter from USSR People's Deputy Captain E. Gams to the editors of the journal MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN: "In 1990 the USSR's human losses as a result of a French nuclear strike could total 48-55 million people, with 25-40 percent of its industrial potential being destroyed in the process. By 1995 Paris' plans envisage having nuclear forces capable of killing 81 million Soviet citizens and wiping two-thirds of the USSR's industrial capacity off the face of the earth." By Pentagon criteria this means that France alone will be capable of causing us "unacceptable damage," meaning the total destruction of the state. And if you consider that Britain has even greater nuclear might, it should be realized that these U.S. allies are capable of independently inflicting a decisive nuclear strike. In such a case, of course, they would not escape unscathed either. But we are talking primarily about the correlation of forces. It is natural that since we have eliminated our intermediate-range missiles we have had to retarget a proportion of our strategic offensive arms at highly important military targets in Europe. Say that we allocate for this purpose the same number of warheads as Britain and France have targeted on us. No more and no less. Logical? Absolutely. But what would the ratio of USSR to U.S. warhead numbers look like then? According to official data it would be 6,200:8,300, but unofficial figures are even worse.

The question of the plans to develop in the United States extensive antimissile defenses with space-based elements is becoming even more acute. The joint statement made by the two countries' presidents on future talks on nuclear and space arms and the further strengthening of strategic stability indicates an intention to discuss questions relating to the interconnection between strategic offensive and defensive arms.

U.S. experts assess the cost of the Soviet ground-based ICBM grouping (1,400 units) at \$280 billion. It must be borne in mind that around 80 percent of all expenditure is attributable to the development, testing, and production of the missiles and only 20 percent to maintaining the combat crews and operating the weapons. Therefore

if we eliminate missiles we will be able to make future savings of only 20 percent of the resources we spend. But if the United States violates the ABM Treaty we, in order to take asymmetric countermeasures, will have to reactivate [vnov razvorachivat] our strategic offensive arms, beef up our ICBM grouping, and spend tens of billions of rubles.

Is there any guarantee that this will not happen, that, linking the fate of agreements to, say, Lithuania, emigration, or some other internal affairs of the Soviet Union, the United States will not unleash a new twist to the arms race? In destroying missiles and blowing up silos, which are extremely complex and expensive technical installations, we irretrievably lose billions of rubles which can never be converted into refrigerators, television sets, or even coffee grinders.

It should be borne in mind that in "cost effectiveness" terms nuclear weapons are cheapest or, as the Americans say, "give you more bang for your buck." According to American data, the cost of arming an armored division is around \$1 billion. But is such a division capable of doing much in a modern war? At the same time, by investing 1 billion rubles in the operation and maintenance of the ICBM's that we already have, we would maybe ensure that the enemy would incur "unacceptable damage" in a counterstrike.

Nor must we disregard the fact that many countries are standing on the threshold of mastery of nuclear and missile technology. In these conditions is it possible to guarantee that some totalitarian or adventurist regimes will not attempt to make use of nuclear missile weapons to achieve their ambitious aspirations?

In these conditions the Soviet Union and the United States will possibly have to jointly seek ways to defend their territories from probable nuclear missile attack by third countries. However one provision that remains fundamental is the nonsiting in space of strike weapons, which could seriously destabilize the international situation. In concluding this examination of the situation that has developed and the prospects for the further enhancement of arms it can be deduced that the negotiating process in the field of strategic offensive arms must be raised to a fundamentally new level, moving from purely quantitative parameters in determining the correlation of the sides' forces to quantitative-and-qualitative factors.

It is of course impossible in a newspaper article to analyze in detail the content of such a complex and wide-ranging document as the draft treaty on strategic offensive arms. There is a need for a comprehensive businesslike discussion in which the professionals would be joined by the broadest public circles.

Accusations of Military Complicity in Iraq Denied*PM2308151190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 1*

[G. Charodeyev report: "Do Soviet Military Specialists Remain in Iraq? From Our Correspondent at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center"]

[Text] A routine briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists was addressed by Yu. Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration. He reported that the evacuation of USSR citizens from Kuwait and Iraq is continuing. The third group of Soviet specialists and members of their families (351 people) evacuated from Kuwait arrived in Moscow 21 August. The final, fourth group has arrived in Baghdad. It includes staffers of the embassy and other Soviet institutions in Kuwait, members of their families, and specialists. In all, 180 people. On 23 August the group will drive from Baghdad to the Iraqi-Jordanian border. It is expected to arrive in Moscow 24 August. Members of the families of Soviet specialists working in Iraq will be evacuated from 26 August. There is no plan for evacuation via Iran.

THE WASHINGTON POST has accused the Soviet Union of "complicity in preparing the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait." In particular, the newspaper claims: "Before the West praises the Soviet Union for its condemnation of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, its embargo on arms supplies, and its readiness to join in the UN-approved naval blockade of Iraq, we should think about a simple fact: The Soviet Union almost certainly had advance knowledge of the time when the Iraqis would invade Kuwait.

"Including technical support personnel, the USSR has 3,000-4,000 military advisers in Iraq. While TASS, the Soviet news agency, has announced the evacuation of 'civilians' from Iraq and Kuwait, it has not mentioned the military and technical advisers who play a critical role in the continuation of the Iraqi military adventure. Sources in the U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency assert that Husayn could not have launched his invasion of Kuwait without Soviet military advisers in Baghdad knowing the technical and operational aspect of the matter"...

Many such claims have been made in Western publications in recent days. Within the framework of its briefing, the Foreign Ministry Information Administration invited USSR Defense Ministry expert Colonel V. Ogurtsov to speak. He said:

"It is wrong to claim that the Soviet Union has any special responsibility for the situation that has arisen in the Persian Gulf region. The attack on Kuwait was a treacherous act. Yes, the Soviet Union supplied Iraq with arms, but the practice of exporting arms and military equipment is widely developed in the modern world. Armed forces in the Near Eastern countries are equipped with modern weapons produced abroad, including in the Soviet Union. I stress that Iraq's attack on Kuwait came as a total surprise not only to the USSR but also to the whole world. The United States, with its huge intelligence apparatus,

was also taken unawares. Iraq gave assurances that it would not attack Kuwait and prepared the invasion itself. The USSR president's speech provides a clear assessment of the Iraqi aggression..."

Arab correspondents asked: What do the Soviet military experts do in Iraq?

"Weapons require appropriate care and repair. It is necessary to train national military cadres, prepare training materials, and provide support for range facilities, fighting vehicle gunnery training facilities, and firing ranges. The Soviet specialists dealt with these matters. The length of their assignments in Iraq varied—sometimes a month, sometimes two years. As their contractual commitments expired they left the country. There were and are none of our military specialists working in the troops and under staffs. Nor did they engage in the elaboration of any operational documents or in conducting combat teamwork training of Iraqi Army formations."

PAP: During the conflict with Iran, Iraq developed the might of its own defense industry. Did Soviet military specialists take part in the development and improvement of Iraqi weapons?

[Ogurtsov] The USSR did not engage in arms production in Iraq. So far as I know, Iraqi specialists together with foreign (non-Soviet) firms modernized certain types of arms supplied from our country. In particular, the R-17 missiles were improved.

A correspondent who did not give his name asked: In your view, will the Soviet military take part in the naval blockade of Iraq?

[Ogurtsov] There is a nuance here. In the Soviet Union the military does nothing on its own initiative. A political decision by the country's leadership and appropriate orders are needed. But I would like to stress: Ways of settling the dangerous crisis by peaceful means should be found.

A BBC correspondent asked the precise number of Soviet military specialists in Iraq.

[Ogurtsov] Today there are 193 Soviet military specialists in Iraq. How long will they remain there? It all depends on the development of the situation in the crisis region. But we have people on short assignments in Iraq. They will leave Iraq when their contractual obligations have been fulfilled. There will be no increase in the number of Soviet military specialists. We have been instructed to stop sending anyone on assignment to this country.

The IZVESTIYA correspondent asked: What is the Defense Ministry's view of Iraq's threat to unleash chemical warfare?

[Ogurtsov] The Soviet Union did not supply Iraq with chemical weapons or any components for their manufacture and use. It is difficult to estimate the quantity of such weapons in Baghdad's possession. Sometimes the press carries information that Husayn has stockpiles of

chemical weapons. In that case their use would be a terrible development in the whole crisis.

During the Iran-Iraq war we sent protective gear to the region and now our diplomats and citizens have everything necessary for safe work.

Gremitskikh's 23 August Brief on Gulf Issues

Details Hammadi's Moscow Talks

LD2308135390 Moscow TASS in English 1339 GMT
23 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Boris Zverev and Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—Iraq should “seriously change its current policy”, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing here today.

Yuriy Gremitskikh said the Soviet Union used the recent Moscow talks with Sa'dun Hammadi, a special envoy of the Iraqi leadership, to put forth its position in a “thorough and firm way”.

He said the Soviet side expressed conviction that Iraq “should immediately comply with U.N. Security Council Resolution 660, renounce its reliance on force and start searching for a political settlement”.

The Soviet Union described as “unconvincing” Iraq's arguments intended to justify the annexation of Kuwait, specifically its referring to “historical rights” to Kuwait's territory.

On the foreign military build-up on the Arabian Peninsula and in the Gulf, the Iraqi envoy was told that, to remove problems connected with this, the “prime cause of the crisis should be eliminated as soon as possible, that is, Iraq should withdraw its troops from Kuwait,” the spokesman said.

On USSR Position on Gulf

LD2308174590 Moscow Domestic Service
in Russian 1630 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] [Announcer] There was a briefing in the USSR Foreign Ministry press center today for Soviet and foreign journalists on current questions of international politics. Touching on the alarming situation in the area of the Persian Gulf, Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry information directorate, said in particular:

[Begin Gremitskikh recording] In connection with the crisis situation in the Persian Gulf, we are taking the most energetic actions aimed at attaining a political settlement. These actions are proceeding within the framework of the UN Security Council and on a bilateral basis, and in contacts with various countries. In this context, the Soviet Union adopted the decision to

respond to the address by the Iraqi leadership on dispatching to Moscow deputy prime minister Hammad of Iraq, in the capacity of special representative.

The talks with Hammadi took place on 20-21 August. We used these meetings to put forward the USSR position in a detailed and firm way. Our conviction was stressed on the need for Iraq to immediately fulfill resolution 660 of the UN Security Council, to renounce the stress on force, and to go over to seeking ways for a political plan of settlement.

The arguments put forward by the Iraqi representatives to justify the annexation of Kuwait, in particular, the reference, in quotation marks, of historical right, end of quotation marks, to the territory of Kuwait, were evaluated as unconvincing.

As for the massing of the foreign military presence in the Arabian Peninsula and in the waters of the Persian Gulf, in order to eliminate the problems connected with this, the Iraqi representative was told that the original cause of the crisis must be eliminated as soon as possible, that is, Iraqi troops must be withdrawn from Kuwait.

The attention of the Iraqi representative was also drawn to the need for urgent steps to ease the most acute tension evoked by Iraq's actions contradicting the decisions of the Security Council.

We persistently put forward the idea that politically and morally, Baghdad has lost a great deal in the eyes of the world public opinion by carrying out an illegal and anti-humane action with respect to citizens of third countries. That just complicates the already complex situation. The decision to detain foreign citizens by force is without precedent in the history of international relations and cannot be justified by any arguments, including references to national security considerations. [end recording]

[Announcer] In reply to journalists' questions on the course of the evacuation of Soviet citizens in the zone of the conflict, Yuriy Gremitskikh noted:

[Begin Gremitskikh recording] As was reported to us yesterday from Baghdad, the Iraqi authorities announced that the airspace above the country is open to flights by planes of all air companies. Thus, the opportunity has been obtained of bringing out directly from Baghdad the remaining, the fourth, group of Soviet people evacuated from Kuwait. The group of 180 people is to fly in Aeroflot planes from Baghdad to Moscow today, at approximately 2300, give or take a few minutes. [end recording]

Supports Collective Sanctions

LD2308142190 Moscow TASS in English 1400 GMT
23 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Boris Zverev and Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—"Collective decisions have the great force needed to influence Iraq and persuade it to change its position and conduct," Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh told a briefing here today.

Collective measures by the international community and individual steps by countries "have a major, powerful potential", Gremitskikh said.

The measures already adopted by the international community "should work for a while" before the community decides on "other steps or stages" to settle the situation caused by Iraq's unprovoked aggressive actions in the Gulf, he said.

"It is necessary to tap the potential of political and economic measures and then discuss them collectively," Gremitskikh added.

Consistent Stand on Iraq Noted

*LD2308153390 Moscow TASS in English 1516 GMT
23 Aug 90*

[By TASS correspondents Boris Zverev and Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—"No dramatic or substantial change has occurred in our stance, which was stressed by Soviet officials during discussions with Iraqi and Saudi representatives in Moscow over the past few days," Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh said today.

He was commenting on Western press reports claiming that the USSR had dramatically altered its stance, while its diplomats stated last week the Soviet side's readiness to cooperate with the United States and Britain.

"Our choice remains geared to collective actions within the U.N. framework," Gremitskikh said. "Within this framework, we are prepared to discuss any measures."

"Priority should always be given to political steps, especially in the current situation," he said. "Strongly worded resolutions have been adopted. Time is needed to see their effectiveness."

"The Soviet stance is known in the United States, Britain and Arab countries," the spokesman added.

POST Article on Iraq Dismissed

*LD2308155490 Moscow TASS in English 1536 GMT
23 Aug 90*

[By TASS Correspondents Boris Zverev and Aleksandr Kanishchev:]

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—The August 22 WASHINGTON POST article accusing the USSR of complicity in preparing the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait "contains everything but facts and common sense", Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh stated here today.

The article was clearly designed as a scoop, he said. It asserted that the USSR maintained between 3,000 and 4,000 military advisers in Iraq, that several senior Soviet officers were among Saddam Husayn's closest aides and that the KGB penetrated deep inside the Iraqi Government, including its highest echelons.

The truth is, Gremitskikh said, that "there have been no Soviet military advisers in Iraq. Only our military specialists, a total of about 200 people, are in Iraq."

"They cannot realistically participate either in developing Iraqi armed forces or in planning their combat use," he said.

Gremitskikh dismissed claims about the KGB as "a totally groundless hoax".

The Soviet Union, he said, regarded the article "as an attempt to cast aspersions on the broad international understanding and shatter the consensus at the U.N. Security Council, especially among its permanent members, in what concerns the assessment of the current critical situation in the Gulf and ways and means to remove this dangerous source of world tension."

Iraqi Decision on Foreigners Criticized

*LD2308154190 Moscow TASS in English 1531 GMT
23 Aug 90*

[By TASS correspondents Boris Zverev and Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—The Soviet Union has described Iraq's decision to keep foreigners in the country by force as "illegal and inhumane", a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing here today.

Speaking about recent Moscow talks with Sa'dun Ham-madi, a special envoy of the Iraqi leadership, Yuriy Gremitskikh said the Soviet Union used the talks to put forth its position in a "thorough and firm way."

He said the Iraqi envoy's attention was drawn to the need for "undelayed efforts to ease the acute tension resulting from Iraq's actions, which run counter to the Security Council's decisions."

The Soviet side consistently stressed the idea that the Iraqi government "has lost much, politically and morally, in the eyes of world public opinion by its illegal and inhumane action towards citizens of third countries," Gremitskikh said.

"This is only aggravating the already difficult situation. The decision to keep foreigners in the country by force has no precedent in the history of international relations and cannot be justified by any arguments, including references to national security considerations."

The spokesman quoted Soviet officials as telling the Iraqi envoy that "the best way to ensure the security of the country and the people is to convincingly display

one's goodwill and immediately take constructive steps to implement the U.N. Security Council's resolutions."

Sa'dun Hammadi assured the Soviet officials that Iraq "is ready to display flexibility on the issue of the exit of foreigners from the country, as a response to the flexibility of other countries," Gremitskikh said.

On Saudi Envoy's Meetings

LD2308162390 Moscow TASS in English 1600 GMT
23 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Boris Zverev and Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—Saudi special representative Prince Bandar Bin-Sultan al-Sa'ud visited the Soviet Union within the framework of diverse efforts to overcome the Gulf Crisis, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh told a briefing here today.

During a meeting with Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze on Wednesday, the Saudi official conveyed King Fahd's message on the Iraqi-Kuwait crisis to President Mikhail Gorbachev, Gremitskikh said, stressing that it was a "verbal message."

The Saudi envoy also had a discussion with Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov.

The discussions at the Soviet Foreign Ministry focused on various aspects of the situation in the Gulf. "The discussions revealed a substantial similarity between assessments and approaches of the Soviet Union and Saudi Arabia," Gremitskikh said.

"Both sides believe that the crisis was caused by the Iraqi military invasion of Kuwait. They favour finding a political, peaceful way out of the current situation."

"The Saudi representative spoke highly about Soviet-American understanding concerning inadmissibility of the spread of the conflict."

If the conflict broke out, say, in the 1970s, the Saudi envoy remarked, "the entire world would have been at the brink of mutual threats and nuclear ultimatums."

"This is not the case today. Both sides realise that this positive accomplishment should be preserved."

Considering other aspects of the discussions, Gremitskikh said that it was observed that the bilateral political dialogue between the USSR and Saudi Arabia was intensively developing for the mutual benefit of both countries.

Both sides regard this process as quite natural and legitimate, he added.

The subject of exchanging embassies between the USSR and Saudi Arabia was not discussed in Moscow, Gremitskikh pointed out.

Diplomatic Contacts Needed

LD2308182690 Moscow TASS in English 1804 GMT
23 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Boris Zverev and Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—From the first day of the Persian Gulf crisis caused by Iraq's unprovoked aggression against Kuwait, the Soviet Union has been firmly and consistently adhering to political measures to resolve this explosive conflict. The Soviet Union participates in collective political and economic measures of the United Nations with regard to Iraq. It also maintains diplomatic contacts with all permanent members of the Security Council, with other countries and as well as Iraq to find a peaceful solution to the crisis.

Any attempts of the Western media to establish a contradiction between the Soviet Union's "initial stand" and the "present line", to pinpoint a "dramatic and substantial change" in the recent days hold no water. This was confirmed by today's briefing by Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh.

As is known, the recent two-day visit to the Soviet Union by special representative of the Iraqi leadership Sa'dun Hammadi and his conversations with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze were used by the Western press as a pretext for these hasty conclusions.

Soviet diplomats note that these conversations give no reason to say that there has been a "change in the Soviet stand". Quite the contrary, Sa'dun Hammadi's visit to Moscow was used by the USSR as an occasion to set out the Soviet stand firmly and thoroughly, Gremitskikh said today. The Soviet Union demands undelayed withdrawal of Iraqi troops out of Kuwait and restoration of Kuwait's sovereignty.

The fact that the USSR firmly conducts this principled line is confirmed by the results of the visit to Moscow by special representative of the Saudi leadership Prince Bandar Bin-Sultan. His visit to Moscow was concluded today. In an interview with TASS on Wednesday, he expressed "much satisfaction" over his conversation with Eduard Shevardnadze.

The prince particularly noted the fact that the Soviet Union in the United Nations condemned Iraq's aggression and insists on the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait and on the restoration of Kuwait's lawful government.

The prince also declared that the USSR "can play an important role in convincing President Saddam Husayn in some way or another that he acted wrong".

Bandar Bin-Sultan made it plain that the Saudi Government would be pleased if some country, by diplomatic efforts, succeeded in compelling Iraq to comply with the decision of international community.

So, there is nothing surprising in the Soviet Union's attempts to influence Baghdad by diplomatic measures.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told the briefing today that such actions are "timely and needed" as an organic part of the Soviet efforts towards the settlement of the situation in the Persian Gulf area.

Last Group Leaves Iraq

*LD2308123490 Moscow TASS in English 1103 GMT
23 Aug 90*

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—Iraqi authorities have allowed a fourth, last group of Soviet nationals, evacuated from Kuwait, to leave by air from Baghdad.

A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told TASS that the group consists of staff members of the embassy and other Soviet foreign establishments, their dependants, as well as specialists. This 180-strong group is expected to arrive in Moscow by a special Aeroflot flight on Friday.

Iraqi Airspace Open

*AU2308152590 Paris AFP in English 1445 GMT
23 Aug 90*

[Text] Moscow, Aug 23 (AFP) One hundred and eighty Soviet citizens evacuated from Kuwait were to fly home directly from Baghdad late Thursday after Iraq reopened its airspace to all foreign airlines, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuri Gremytskikh said here Thursday.

The Iraqi decision to reopen its airspace was taken Wednesday, the spokesman told a press briefing, adding that as far as he understood, Iraqi airspace was open to all foreign airlines.

No announcement of the reopening of Iraqi airspace has been made by Baghdad.

The spokesman said there were no major differences of opinion with the United States on the Gulf issue, adding that "both sides believe Iraq should withdraw from Kuwait and allow innocent civilians to leave the country".

Soviet deputy Foreign Minister Alexander Belonogov had met again Thursday with the U.S. Ambassador here, Jack Matlock, to discuss the Gulf crisis, and the implementation of sanctions against Iraq, the spokesman also said.

Asked whether the Soviet Union did not feel a military solution was now called for, Mr. Gremytskikh said: "In politics and in diplomacy, there are certain stages. One stage comes after another". "Today we believe that measures which are taken collectively and individual measures by certain countries represent a powerful potential which should be given a chance to work before we pass to the next stage, or stages," he said. "The idea of certain multinational forces is under discussion and

using force to implement the U.N. resolution on sanctions is under discussion as well. "But I believe that everyone thinks that (the crisis) should be solved collectively, because only collective decisions have the necessary force needed to impress on Iraq the need to change its line of conduct," he added. "We should exhaust the potential of political and economic measures which have been taken and then we'll look at the situation and discuss it collectively" anew, he said.

Foreigners allowed out of Iraq, including Soviet citizens, until now have mostly had to cross overland to Jordan, but Amman Wednesday declared its border with Iraq closed because of difficulties in coping with the number of evacuees, who have streamed across since Iraq's August 2 invasion of Kuwait.

Further on Gremytskikh's 23 August Brief

On Gorbachev Trip to Japan

*LD2308140690 Moscow TASS in English 1343 GMT
23 Aug 90*

[By TASS correspondent Boris Zverev and Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing here today that Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will visit Japan on September 5-7, in accordance with an earlier agreement.

This visit, Yuri Gremytskikh said, "is regarded by the Soviet side as an important link in the development and extension of high-level political dialogue and practical implementation of the agreement, reached by the sides in 1988, to open a new chapter in our relation".

The Soviet and Japanese sides, he continued, have a general understanding that Shevardnadze's visit to Japan is to become "a key stage in preparing the Soviet president's visit to Japan".

Thus during his visit to Japan the Soviet foreign minister will raise issues connected with Gorbachev's visit to this country.

"We hope that an extended exchange of views on international issues, including the Asia-Pacific region, and bilateral relations, primarily, the peace treaty between the USSR and Japan, will take place during the visit."

'Astonishment' at Antall Remarks

*LD2308191990 Moscow TASS in English 1908 GMT
23 Aug 90*

[By TASS correspondents Boris Zverev and Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—The Soviet Union expressed "astonishment" at pronouncements contained in the speech of Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall in connection with St. Istvan's day. Antall asserted that

over seven decades the Soviet Union as a world power evoked fear in the whole world and compared the USSR to the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires.

Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh told a briefing here today that this statement of the Hungarian prime minister was noted in the Soviet Union.

"We were justifiably amazed at the tone of such pronouncements, particularly in view of the fact that obstacles to the development of Soviet-Hungarian relations in the spirit of goodneighbourliness and cooperation have been removed due to Soviet initiatives," Gremitskikh said.

Views Upcoming Dumas Visit

LD2308172290 Moscow TASS in English 1711 GMT
23 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Boris Zverev and Aleksandr Kanishchev:]

[Text] Moscow 23 August TASS—The working visit to the Soviet Union by French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, on August 25-26, "meets the two countries' interests in maintaining a high pace of intense political dialogue against the backdrop of dynamic events in Europe and the world," a Soviet foreign ministry spokesman said here today.

Yuriy Gremitskikh told a briefing that the two countries' ministers will consider questions connected with the forthcoming "two plus four" meeting of foreign ministers in Moscow, discuss preparations for the European summit in Paris this autumn and raise issues of bilateral cooperation.

"Naturally a lot of attention will be paid to developments in the Gulf," Gremitskikh said.

He did not rule out the possibility of the French minister meeting President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Secretary Baklanov on Military Conversion

PM2208142890 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Aug 90 Second Edition p 5

[Interview with O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, by A. Pokrovskiy; place and date not given: "All Together Toward Conversion"]

[Text] [Pokrovskiy] Oleg Dmitriyevich, I was prompted to request a short interview with you by the indignant question of one of the participants in the UN conference on conversion which ended yesterday in Moscow. He asked how logical it is to entrust the implementation of conversion to leaders who were involved in the organization of the production of military hardware, obviously having in mind, in particular, the participation of yourself and of I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, in the conference. How would you answer him?

[Baklanov] Also with a question: How is it possible to carry out conversion without a detailed knowledge of the specific nature of the sectors and their scientific, technical, and technological capabilities? I have already said, including in PRAVDA, that the process of conversion is complex both organizationally and technically. It doesn't work like that in our country or in any other—yesterday you produced guns, tomorrow, butter. Moreover, the fates of hundreds of thousands of people in need of social protection during the redesignation of their plants are involved. A special government resolution was even adopted recently.

But I surmise that with regard to myself, the question has another subtext that is typical for the times we live in—why is a CPSU Central Committee secretary so actively involved in affairs that are supposedly purely economic? And I again ask in my turn: Surely this is a political question, both in its intra-Union and its international aspects? Let me remind you that our party attaches colossal significance to the successful implementation of conversion in the interests of our people and in the interests of strengthening international trust. I will say more: Everything that touches the life of the Soviet man is and will be in the party's field of vision. Of course, the forms of work may change. But we cannot opt out of specific action. This includes defense and economic problems, whose solution directly affects people's prosperity.

Remember the speech of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the United Nations—it was then that conversion was first spoken of as state policy, based on the new political thinking. I think that holding the conference under the aegis of the United Nations precisely in Moscow was a public recognition of this initiative of ours.

[Pokrovskiy] In the numerous discussions in print and at various kinds of meetings we have usually examined conversion as a process, albeit linked to the general improvement in the international climate, but nevertheless relating first and foremost to our internal affairs. Now we are realizing that many other countries are choosing the same path.

[Baklanov] I do not know whom you have in mind by the pronoun "we." But both our party and our state have always borne in mind the universality of conversion, approaching it as a process that has its own internal logic and consistency. It rests on four cornerstones. Above all, there is the social protection of the working people and the level of the equipment released as a result of conversion, then there is—I stress this in the given case—mutuality. After all, if there is not a corresponding movement in other countries, conversion may skid off the rails in our country as well. In-depth conversion is simply unrealizable on a unilateral basis. And it is precisely the depth of conversion which is its fourth cornerstone. In other words, every country, in seeking to switch as much output as possible to civilian production,

cannot help looking over its shoulder at its neighbors, cannot forget the principle of sufficiency of its own defense.

[Pokrovskiy] I agree that the conference helped us to "look each other over" more thoroughly. But can it not be said that it also opened a new phase—that of learning from each other the most rational solution of complex problems?

[Baklanov] Undoubtedly. After all, conversion cannot be an isolated process in one country. I will note what was in my view the main feature of this conference, the most substantial feature for us in conditions of the transition to a regulated market economy. Just look at the participants: On the Soviet side they were mainly representatives of state and social organizations. While from other countries, many representatives of various associations and individual firms came. Their experience is extremely important to us. After all, more and more scientific and technical associations are appearing at the present time in our country as well, and enterprises, including defense enterprises, are gaining more and more autonomy. But it is precisely experience of autonomous economic activity that they lack.

For instance, I am very impressed by the Americans' pragmatic approach to conversion processes. They thoroughly calculate the economic consequences of every step they take in this direction, and only then begin to act. With us, it is often the other way around—first we adopt decisions based mainly on noble intentions, and start on calculations only later. Is it any wonder that we often have to count up the losses and blunders?

This is why I think it very important that the Moscow conference not only elaborated solutions of a general character, but also helped establish personal contacts between business people of different countries. This means a lot. Including the further strengthening of trust between people and states, without which, as I have already said, the deepening of conversion and the improvement of its complex processes, and the raising of its output for the sake of people's prosperity are unthinkable.

Conversion Forum Participants Visit Moscow Plant

*PM2208095990 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1430 GMT 17 Aug 90*

[Report by P. Orlov from "Kompozit" science-and-production association; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The UN international conference "Conversion and Changes in the Economy in the Age of Arms Reductions" has ended in Moscow.

[Reporter] On the penultimate day the conference participants toured space and defense facilities. Participants visited the Space Flight Center [video shows brief scenes], the plant named for Khrushchev, the exhibition

"Conversion in the Defense Industry" at Nagatino, and the "Kompozit" science-and-production association where materials for our rockets are produced.

The first and most tangible result of conversion is probably here at the "Kompozit" science-and-production association. Just over a year ago, when journalists first visited this enterprise, there was an exhibition here showing what can be produced from composite materials. These are pictures from that exhibition. Now in the same premises a production unit for the manufacture of needles for medical purposes is already functioning. Its plan is 4 million needles per annum. Not enough for the whole of our country, but a production unit is better than an exhibition.

And here is another example. In cooperation with amateur designers this wheelchair has been produced from composite materials. [video shows self-propelled wheelchair] It is superior to similar chairs produced abroad. This is nothing new. But what is new is that production of this chair will begin in the very near future.

[S.P. Polovnikov, general director of the "Kompozit" science-and-production association] There are amateurs and professionals throughout the country who are beginning to understand the purpose of our output, and a chain reaction has set in. A certain amount of time was obviously needed for this to happen. That is one side of the matter. The other side is that we have embarked on developing a network of small enterprises, workshops, and sections where we develop our production, and with every passing month we are producing more and more of our own output.

[Reporter] Our main illusion about conversion was probably that the defense and space industry giants would start producing an equally large volume of goods for the people. But small enterprises have proved superior. They are capable of quickly absorbing new developments. Fortunately, people realized this a good deal before the conference on conversion opened in Moscow. The conference marked a first step toward making sense of this painful process. The conference has shown that for the time being we can only count on our own resources. But who is stopping us from using what has already been tested in other countries? It seems that small enterprises within the defense complex are so far the best solution.

Gorbachev Greets IAEA Treaty Conference

*PM2308120590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
22 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 1*

[Text of message from M. Gorbachev "To Participants in Conference to Examine the Operation of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty"]

[Text] I greet the participants in your extraordinarily important conference.

During the years of the treaty's operation it has become an essential part of the legal foundation of international relations.

Under the conditions of the real nuclear disarmament which has begun, the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons acquires special importance. The observance of the treaty is becoming one factor of the successful continuation of that process.

I want to state most clearly that the consolidation of the 1968 treaty and the attainment of its universality remain the unvarying goal of Soviet foreign policy. The Soviet Union advocates the reliable safety of nonnuclear countries from the use or the threatened use of nuclear weapons. Our aim is to ban and completely eliminate nuclear weapons under effective international control and to build a nuclear-free world. The Soviet Union will continue to seek persistently results for talks on all aspects of nuclear disarmament.

The complete cessation and banning of nuclear weapons tests—that legacy of the “cold war”—is one of our policy's priorities.

I consider it specially important to note the activity in connection with the treaty of the IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency], which verifies the states' fulfillment of their commitments regarding the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and organizes international collaboration in the field of peaceful atomic energy and safe conditions for its use.

I wish the conference success in its crucial work.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev.

International Seminar on Radiation Medicine Held

90UN2599A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
13 Jul 90 p 3

[Article by Ukrainian Information Agency correspondent A. Yanushevskiy: “With the International Atomic Energy Agency Participating”]

[Text] A three-day international seminar conducted in the city of Ovruch, in the Zhitomir area, has enriched doctors practicing in contaminated territories following the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant with much theoretical and practical knowledge in the sphere of radiation medicine. Experts from the United States, Sweden, and Hungary arriving in the Soviet Union at the initiative of the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA] gave presentations and informational reports on problems dealing with the effects of ionizing radiation on people's health and the surrounding environment. They participated in discussions on this pressing topic and conducted a number of practical conferences with our doctors on treating the ailments caused by radiation.

“Eliminating the aftereffects of the Chernobyl accident is not just the business of Soviet specialists,” stated Carol Skornik, science secretary for the seminar and an employee in the International Atomic Energy Agency's nuclear safety department. “Scientists from other countries must contribute to this as well. The International Atomic Energy Agency has created a special commission of experts which is determining the nature and scope of the aftereffects of the Chernobyl accident. The conduct of seminars such as this, with the broad participation of practicing physicians, is a distinctive supplement to the plans being implemented by the IAEA regarding this significant problem.”

“It is important,” the IAEA representative emphasized, “for foreign specialists to have the opportunity to make contacts with local scientists and doctors, allowing them to better understand the problems which have arisen in connection with the accident.”

Taking part in the work of the seminar were official functionaries of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, Ukrainian SSR Public Health Ministry, State Agroindustrial Committee of the republic, Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute for Hydrometeorology, and representatives of other departments and organizations.

Petrovskiy Meets Officials at Geneva Talks

LD2308204490 Moscow TASS in English 1757 GMT
23 Aug 90

[Text] Geneva August 23 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy, who heads the Soviet delegation at the forth conference to review adherence to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, met and conferred here with International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) Director-General Hans Blix.

The meeting focused on strengthening the IAEA's guarantees to implement projects providing technical assistance to developing countries which are party to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

Petrovskiy also met British Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs William Waldegrave. As representatives of countries which are depositories of the treaty they discussed interaction in efforts to tighten the nuclear weapons non-proliferation regime.

Petrovskiy also held talks with representatives of non-governmental public organisations, who arrived in Geneva to attend the conference of Greenpeace and Soka Gakkai International. The sides exchanged views on a complete and global ban of nuclear weapon tests and on applying IAEA safeguards on exports of nuclear-related materials.

China

Shevardnadze, PRC Counterpart To Meet 1 Sep

LD2408134690 Moscow World Service in English
1334 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will meet his Chinese counterpart, Qian Qichen, on 1 September at an undisclosed location in China, the Soviet Embassy spokesman said in Beijing on Friday.

The Soviet foreign minister is scheduled to visit the North Korean capital before heading for Tokyo where he is expected on September 5th or 7th to arrange a visit to Japan by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

During the tour Eduard Shevardnadze will also visit the eastern Soviet port of Vladivostok, where he will attend a conference on Asian issues.

The embassy spokesman did not discount the possibility that the Gulf crisis and Cambodia would be the likely topics of the talks between the Soviet and Chinese foreign ministers.

Moscow and Beijing have both condemned Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and suspended arms sales to Baghdad. Both are among the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, and have been reluctant to support any eventual use of military power in the Gulf to enforce the United Nations' imposed economic sanctions against Iraq.

China has said however that it would not veto a Security Council resolution allowing a multinational Western fleet in the Gulf to resort to force.

Background of Chinese Revolutionary Leader Fang

OW2308191890 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0600 GMT 22 Aug 90

[NOVOYE VREMYA article: "Slightly Condensed Version" on Fang Lizhi by (Chudogiyev); date not given]

[Text] On 25 June 1990, a U.S. Air Force plane landed in Upper Hayford, a U.S. military base 96 km west of London, under tight security. Fang Lizhi and his wife appeared on the ramp. The statesmen had triumphed. The most famous Chinese dissident won his freedom and arrived in London after spending more than a year as a political prisoner in the U.S. Embassy in Beijing. We may say it was a comfortable confinement. However, in the words of the world-renowned astrophysicist himself, he could not even see the sky which, to be specific, of course refers to the sky of freedom, human rights, and democracy. As it was to Sakharov, the alienation from life and deprivation of free contact with friends and relatives was extremely harmful to him. Fang Lizhi and Sakharov never met, but they shared common traits. Aside from being outstanding physicists of contemporary times and always being vulnerable and unprotected, both Fang Lizhi and Sakharov repeatedly stated

remarks and ideas disliked by the rulers of their countries and which were not readily accepted by the masses. In the final analysis, however, it was their philosophy that prompted authorities and public opinion to solve problems which had already ripened. In short, they were ahead of their times.

Fang Lizhi graduated with honors from the physics department of Beijing University. Soon after, he became a world-famous astrophysicist. He was credited with the establishment of China's nuclear power program. Fang Lizhi began his social activism in the mid-1950's, a time when the broad masses were full of enthusiasm and hopes and when people from top to bottom wanted anxiously to leap forward to a new good life after the smooth completion of the first Five-Year Plan in China. Under the influence of changes taking place inside the Elder Brother [Soviet Union] following the 20th CPSU Congress, Chinese authorities decided to let their people somehow speak out. The eventful spring of 1957 was characterized by the mammoth propaganda campaign on Mao Zedong's principle of letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend. Fang Lizhi joined the CPC and earnestly believed in Marxism-Leninism and communist ideals. However, as a scientist trained to be skeptical of everything, he often raised, at party meetings, controversial issues which would embarrass the person who recommended him for party membership. Fang Lizhi was one of those people who believed that changes might occur in China. However, (?it turned out that) good times did not last long. Soon the authorities issued a so-called directive. According to the directive, only the so-called fragrant flowers liked by the Mao Zedong clique would be allowed to bloom, while all expressions of different political views were listed as poisonous weeds and ruthlessly eradicated. Fang Lizhi was immediately criticized as a poisonous weed. He and his wife Li Shuxian, accused of disseminating bourgeois ideologies, were expelled from the party. They were also designated as rightists who advocated restoration of the capitalist order. When discussing the pains he has experienced since then, Fang Lizhi always smiles wryly.

In 1976, after Mao Zedong's death and the downfall of the Gang of Four, Fang Lizhi's party membership was reinstated. A decade later, however, he was again expelled from the party because he was one of the organizers of the prodemocracy movement. In 1987, the Chinese authorities transferred Fang Lizhi to the Beijing Observatory in hopes of keeping this stubborn scientist under surveillance. However, everything turned out exactly the opposite. In interviews with foreign reporters, Fang Lizhi never concealed his dissatisfaction with the social and political systems in China. Under the umbrella of his prestige in overseas scientific circles, he was for many years the only person in China who had publicly stated the harm of the system to society. Once he declared that Marxism was obsolete. Had he limited his criticisms to the past and the crimes of the previous Chinese Government, he might have been given lenient treatment for many things. What he said, such as his

views on democracy and political reform in general, would not have incurred the rage. Fang Lizhi's political enemies were enraged because he dared to tell them what to do. Fang Lizhi's ideas provided fertile ground for dissidents in China. Both Fang Lizhi and his wife were not directly involved in the tragic incident at Tiananmen Square last year. However, to participants in the incident, he probably was the only source of inspiration; he was an exemplary, genuine intellectual who selflessly sacrificed himself for the motherland. Generally speaking, the Chinese Government's assertion that Fang Lizhi served as an inspiration to the Chinese student movement is almost true.

By June 1989, China had drawn from its bitter experience an objective conclusion, that is, it must carry out thorough reform. Fang Lizhi reflected this objective reality. As Tiananmen Square resonated with the gunfire which led to China's international moral isolation, Fang Lizhi was compelled to seek refuge. In the early hours of 4 June 1989, a friend telephoned the Fangs, informing them that they would be arrested. Fang Lizhi and Li Shuxian found shelter in the U.S. Embassy. According to Fang Lizhi, they did not want to stay there for long. To them, the 385 days they had to stay in the U.S. Embassy in Beijing were very long. Recalling their shelter at the U.S. Embassy, Fang Lizhi called it the most arduous test of his life.

The ensuing situation was tragic not only for Fang Lizhi; it was also inconvenient and irritating to both the Chinese and U.S. Governments. The Beijing leadership regarded the Fangs' stay in the U.S. Embassy as wanton interference in China's internal affairs, while the White House called the persecution of the scientist a brazen violation of human rights. Judging from outward appearances, the Fang Lizhi incident was the main obstacle to the normalization of Sino-U.S. relations. However, I believe this is not the point. Opening its door to the West in the early 1980's, China introduced a market-oriented economy, established free economic zones, set up hundreds of thousands of joint ventures, and attracted several billions in U.S. dollar investment. The gunfire at Tiananmen Square dealt an indirect blow to the Chinese economy. Foreign investment dwindled; many (useful) projects were shelved; and several billion yuan loans were frozen. The most favored nation trade status with the United States was called into question. The United States and other developed countries also faced a complex choice and dilemma. Having invested a large sum in the Chinese economy, Western nations did not like the idea of blockading the eastern giant with the bamboo curtain and separating it from the rest of the world. Hence, an acute demand for mutual accommodation arose. The Chinese side began to make gestures. In January this year, martial law in Beijing was lifted. In June, nearly 900 people who had been arrested in connection with the turmoil at Tiananmen Square were released, and folk singer Hou Dejian, who had publicly criticized the government, was allowed to go to Taiwan.

However, steps to drastically boost Beijing's credibility were further needed. An opportunity finally came. Nixon, the architect of ping-pong diplomacy, threw out the feeler. During a visit to Beijing last November, he sounded out the Chinese leaders on the release of Fang Lizhi. President Bush made the next move. In the spring of this year, he recommended that the U.S. Congress extend most favored nation trade status to China. Zhongnanhai took the hint. Fang Lizhi was allowed to leave the motherland after signing a written statement of repentance.

In the statement, Fang Lizhi admitted that his views violated the basic principles of the state constitution and guaranteed that he would never engage in antigovernment activities.

The Chinese Government gave up the charges of counterrevolutionary activities and instigation against Fang Lizhi and Li Shuxian. Washington immediately welcomed Fang Lizhi's release, saying that it would contribute to improving relations between China and the United States. Chinese Premier Li Peng declared that the dark clouds over China, which were gathered by the attempt to isolate China, were gradually dissipating.

However, there was one more thing. Under Chinese thinking, Fang lost face because he sought and found refuge from foreigners. Fang Lizhi was probably clearly aware of this. As a result of signing the statement of repentance, he endured humiliation and lost face. What he did has objectively helped the governments of the two countries save face and has given China the opportunity for taking steps to reconcile with the West. When dark clouds over China completely disappear, people will probably thank Fang Lizhi, a man ahead of his times.

Northeast Asia

Reports Conflict Over Shevardnadze's ROK Visit

OW2308150090 Tokyo NHK General Television
Network in Japanese 1000 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] It has become clear that Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze plans to visit South Korea before coming to Japan on 5 September. Reporter Kobayashi in Moscow said this information was given by a Soviet official involved. According to the information, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze is scheduled to attend a meeting on Asia and the Pacific in Vladivostok on 4 September and then proceed to Japan, arriving on 5 September for a three-day visit.

Mr. Shevardnadze plans to visit South Korea prior to visiting Japan; he is expected to visit South Korea on 3 September.

Following the June meeting between President Gorbachev and Korean President No Tae-u in San Francisco, Soviet-South Korean relations have become closer. Diplomatic ties could be established this year. President Gorbachev has told Japanese officials that

Soviet relations with South Korea have improved rapidly. Observers see this as a Soviet move to use its close ties with South Korea as a means to stimulate Japan-Soviet relations. Mr. Shevardnadze's planned visit to South Korea seems to indicate the Soviet Union's intent to turn to South Korea for economic assistance if Japanese economic assistance is not forthcoming.

Meanwhile, a source close to President No denied the report about Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit. He said there is no such plan for the minister to visit South Korea.

U.S. Plan To Sell Arms to ROK Questioned

*SK2408044990 Moscow International Service
in Korean 1100 GMT 21 Aug 90*

[Report on KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA article from the "Focus on Asia" program—author, date of article not given]

[Text] The latest news from the Korean peninsula may be consoling. But what is the roadblock to removing one of the causes of the regional tension that has persisted for a long period of time?

In connection with this, the Soviet paper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA says as follows:

The Korean nation, divided into two parts, has remained something like a (?provisional government). The two Korean sides have concentrated arms along the 38th parallel. North Korea's concern over the existence of the 130 military bases and (?facilities) in South Korea and the presence of 43,000 U.S. troops is (?natural). Also not just a few nuclear weapons exist there.

The South Korean side, which claims that the level of the People's Army equipment exceeds what is necessary for defense, is reportedly keeping a fearful watch over the North side.

The U.S. Government is planning to sell to South Korea 120 up-to-date F-17A [as heard] fighters worth \$3 billion.

Why is it necessary to further beef up the arsenal of the South Korean military circles which already spends \$5 billion annually for national defense?

Washington and Seoul say that it would certainly pose a threat to South Korea if up-to-date aircraft, MiG-29's, are brought into the DPRK. (?Soviet) pilots displayed the MiG-29's technological (?capabilities) at an international air show.

The agreement by which the premiers of the two Korean states would meet for the first time in September this year is very important as well. Expecting disagreement on this view, I welcome the malleability that the DPRK and South Korean leadership have displayed.

Meanwhile, it is discernible that the meeting held between Mikhail Gorbachev and President No Tae-u some time ago as well is linked with the event.

I think those who claimed that the establishment of relations with the ROK would stimulate the settlement of the Korean question were right in their judgment.

At present, all those concerned are reportedly ready to seek peace on the Korean peninsula.

The era of reunification and cooperation should open on the Korean peninsula as well, at a time when the era of cold war has become the past, declared No Tae-u on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the country's liberation from the Japanese colonial rule.

As for the DPRK, its (?sincerity) has been displayed through its numerous peace proposals.

All in all, an epochally new attitude would be necessary.

It is true that the United States attaches strategic importance to its presence on the Korean peninsula. At the same time, it is also clear that the Soviet Union has interest in the DPRK, its ally in the Far East. However, an important strategy is not to (?interfere) in the peace process in the region but to actively help the settlement of the Korean question. That, I would say, is an improved policy.

Naval Detachment Visits North Korea

*LD2308185690 Moscow Television Service
in Russian 1430 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A detachment of Soviet Naval vessels has visited the port of Wonsan on the east coast of the DPRK.

[Correspondent K. Belov] [Begin recording] [video shows views of vessels and port] The detachment comprises the large destroyer Marshal Shaposhnikov and the escort vessel Poryvistyy. During the five days of the visit many delegations of the public of Hamyong province visited the vessels. The Pacific Ocean sailors had daily excursions around the town and its environs, and played friendly matches of football and volleyball with sailors of the Eastern Fleet of the DPRK. Artists of the song and dance ensemble of the Pacific Ocean Fleet gave several concerts for the people of Wonsan. A wreath-laying ceremony took place at the obelisk to Soviet servicemen who died during the operation to liberate Wonsan in August, 1945.

In the past every such visit was interpreted by the Japanese and South Korean media as evidence of the expansion of the Soviet military presence in northeast Asia.

[A. G. Oleynik, vice admiral, first deputy commander of the Pacific Fleet] Well, tendentiousness in the coverage of our visits by the press and radio of certain countries no longer surprises us. But if one speaks seriously, then

this visit is a good old tradition of good friends and close neighbors. And all the more so since it is devoted to the 45th anniversary of the liberation of Korea. We are here together with our Korean comrades and we honor the memory of our servicemen who died on this land. The visit is taking place in a very friendly atmosphere.

[Belov] On 24 August vessels of the DPRK Navy will pay a return visit to Vladivostok. [end recording]

North Korean Navy Ships To visit 24-28 Aug

PM2308141390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 23 Aug 90 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "By Agreement"]

[Text] By agreement a detachment of DPRK Navy ships consisting of a destroyer, a patrol escort, and a salvage and rescue ship under the flag of Vice Admiral Kwon Sang-ho, commander of the DPRK Navy Eastern Fleet, will pay an official visit to Vladivostok 24-28 August.

Joint Japanese Trade Meeting Opens in Tokyo

LD2308222190 Moscow TASS in English 2212 GMT
23 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kopnov]

[Text] Tokyo August 23 TASS—The development of friendly ties between local governments in the Soviet Union and Japan creates fertile soil for progress in Soviet-Japanese relations and for mutually advantageous trade and economic cooperation between the two countries, says a joint communique of Soviet and Japanese local government heads, who gathered here today for their 11th meeting.

The Soviet delegation was led by Ivan Cherepanov, head of the Moscow Regional Council of People's Deputies.

The one-day meeting, organized by the National Governors' Council of Japan, discussed developing contacts at regional level and expanding bilateral business cooperation.

The communique says the discussion of these issues revealed the sides' common desire to look for ways to further develop mutual friendly ties.

It was decided to step up information exchanges and develop scientific, cultural, sports, tourist and public ties between the two countries at local level.

Participant in the meeting welcomed Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to Japan, scheduled for next year, which they said would help deepen mutual understanding and strengthen the climate of confidence and goodwill in bilateral relations.

Tokyo Governor Shunichi Suzuki, who led the Japanese delegation, told a news conference after the meeting that such meetings give their participants a good possibility

to acquaint themselves with one another's experience in developing interregional ties.

Soviet delegation chief Cherepanov told reporters that the Soviet Union was ready to develop relations with Japan in all areas.

The Soviet and Japanese local government heads today agreed to hold their next meeting in Moscow in 1992.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

CPSU's Stroyev Sees Visiting Vietnamese Group

PM2008133790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Aug 90 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] A delegation of Vietnamese party workers, headed by Nguyen Ngoc Triu, member of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] Central Committee and chief of the CPV Central Committee Agriculture Department, was in the Soviet Union 5-15 August to familiarize itself with Soviet experience of managing the agro-industrial complex and with CPSU work forms and methods in perestroika conditions.

The Vietnamese comrades had meetings and conversations at CPSU Central Committee departments and at the USSR Council of Ministers State Food and Purchases Commission, the USSR State Committee for Forestry, the USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry, and the All-Union V.I. Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences, and made a trip to Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

The delegation was received by Ye.S. Stroyev, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Lao Foreign Minister Meets Chinese Dignitary

OW2208233590 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 1400 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] China-Lao relations are developing continuously. The two countries' profound cooperation is characteristically stable.

This is what Phoun Sipaseut, minister of foreign affairs of Laos, stated while meeting the Chinese Government delegation headed by Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Qi Huaiyuan in Vientiane.

Commenting on determining the boundary line between the two countries—which is the main issue the Chinese delegation will discuss during its visit in Laos—Sipaseut expressed his firm belief that the talks will serve as an important, constructive factor conducive to the settlement of the issue.

Commentary Notes Chinese Initiative on Cambodia*OW2308211390 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1100 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Commentary by Chernukha]

[Text] Leaders of the three Cambodian opposition factions met recently with Chinese Premier Li Peng in Beijing. This meeting has given people hope that the impasse in mediating the protracted conflict in Cambodia may end.

Samdech Sihanouk, Son Sann, and Khieu Samphan indicated that they were ready to compromise and talk with Cambodian Premier Hun Sen. The opposition leaders also indicated that they were ready to discuss with him in Jakarta the issue of forming the Supreme National Council, and that under United Nations' supervision, the council will hold a free and general election in Cambodia.

While the current Cambodian Government concurs with the establishment of such an organ, it holds a different view on the distribution of seats among the four parties. There are, of course, other differences. However, if the opposition and the government are ready to compromise, then the time for the establishment of the Supreme National Council, the holding of a general election, and the restoration of peace in Cambodia cannot be far away.

The settlement of the Cambodian issue depends to a large extent on those countries which support the different belligerents. As in the case of China, it will—as Li Peng pointed out during his meeting with the Cambodian oppositions—take steps to facilitate a comprehensive, just, and reasonable political settlement of the issue. During his recent Southeast Asia trip, Li Peng stated that China would stop providing military assistance to the Khmer Rouge if other countries stop providing weapons to Cambodia. Moreover, settlement of the Cambodian issue will also depend on whether an agreement can be reached between China and Vietnam, which supports the current Phnom Penh Government.

ASEAN, which recently emphasized that the Cambodian issue cannot be settled militarily, also play an important role in this issue. Naturally, the understanding reached by the five permanent members of the UN Security Council last month is of great significance for the mediation of the Cambodian issue. They have found the formulas for making all kinds of compromises relevant to Cambodia's power structure, and mechanisms governing a free and general election, as well as military affairs during the country's transition period.

The support that the leaders of the three Cambodian opposition factions give to this understanding is not unimportant, but the intensification of military actions by the Khmer Rouge may not necessarily be helpful for the settlement of the Cambodian issue.

Near East & South Asia**Gorbachev Sends Urgent Message to Saddam***LD2408170490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1645 GMT 24 Aug 90*

[Text] Moscow 24 August (TASS)—Mikhail Gorbachev today sent an urgent personal message to Iraqi President Saddam Husayn. The Soviet head of state described the current situation in the Persian Gulf area as exceptional and particularly dangerous.

The message confirms the Soviet Union's principled position regarding the illegality of the annexation of Kuwait, and stresses the pressing need for the Iraqi Government to embark without delay on the path of fulfilling the demands of the UN Security Council resolutions adopted in connection with Iraq's seizure of Kuwait and with the situation facing the foreign citizens of a number of states on the territory of Kuwait and Iraq.

Evasion of these demands will inevitably prompt the Security Council to take appropriate additional steps. The way in which the Security Council acts now depends on the Iraqi side. The message calls on the Iraqi president to take the required steps immediately.

Iraq's Saddam Welcomes Dialogue With U.S*LD2408061190 Moscow TASS in English 0604 GMT 24 Aug 90*

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Yefremov]

[Text] Cairo August 24 TASS—Iraq has nothing against direct dialogue with the United States and welcomes any dialogue but without any preliminary conditions, President Saddam Husayn announced early today.

The Egyptian news agency MENA reported from Baghdad that Saddam spoke during a meeting with British families held at Iraqi military installations.

The Iraqi president stressed that his latest initiative, like any other, could receive further development.

UN Ruling on Enforcing Gulf Sanctions Awaited*LD2408080990 Moscow TASS in English 0656 GMT 24 Aug 90*

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov]

[Text] United Nations August 24 TASS—The United States continues to seek the adoption by the U.N. Security Council of a resolution permitting the use of force in the Gulf to police economic sanctions against Iraq.

U.S. ambassador to the United Nations Thomas Pickering said after Thursday's meeting of the Security Council's five permanent members that a draft resolution, discussed during council consultations, had been sent to the capitals of council nations.

If the council adopts the resolution, all powers deploying warships in the Gulf will be permitted to use minimum force to check all commercial ships going to or from Iraq in order to ensure strict compliance with the sanctions.

U.S. diplomats say everything now depends on how fast the response from the capitals, particularly Moscow, comes.

The Soviet delegation to the consultations continues to stress the need to achieve a settlement by political methods and through diplomatic channels, believing that such measures have not yet been exhausted.

Soviet acting U.N. ambassador Valentin Lozinskoy told reporters that he had not yet received Moscow's instructions concerning the U.S. draft.

He did not rule out the possibility that the instructions would come in the next few days.

U.S. and British delegates told a session of the council's committee supervising the implementation of the anti-Iraq sanctions on Thursday evening that the U.N. trade embargo was being violated.

They said oil tankers continued to leave Iraqi ports and that, if the tankers sail far from the Gulf, their movement would be difficult to control.

They also cited several violations of the embargo by private firms.

It was announced at U.N. headquarters that special envoys of the U.N. secretary-general continued meeting Iraqi officials in Baghdad.

The envoys had been sent to the Iraqi capital to negotiate the fate of third nation citizens in Iraq, who were denied exit from the country.

The envoys were allowed to visit a group of foreigners, all men, who had been taken out of Baghdad. U.N. officials did not name the foreigners' native countries or the place they have been sent.

Soviets Share U.S. Concern, But Urge Caution

LD2308210990 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] While the Soviet Union stands solidly with the rest of the international community in unequivocally condemning Iraq's aggression against Kuwait and backing sanctions, it differs from the United States in stressing the need for caution and continuing efforts for a political settlement. More in Vantage Point from Boris Belitskiy:

[Begin Belitskiy recording] The grave warning about some of the possible consequences of a war in the Persian Gulf has just been voiced by the vice-president and chief economist of the World Bank, Stanley Fischer. Mr. Fischer pointed out that if the Gulf crisis degenerated into a war, soaring oil prices could well spark a global

recession. In support of this warning he pointed out that the last two global recessions followed the 1973 Arab-Israeli war and the start of the Iran-Iraq war in 1980. The World Bank official said that if the oil price surge, triggered by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, worsened this would be the straw that breaks the back of America's longest peace time economic expansion.

Even before the recent steep climb in oil prices, he added, the United States' economy looked vulnerable to a downturn. With oil prices at \$26 a barrel he felt the United States could scrape by, though with slower growth. As if to give added strength to Mr. Fisher's warning the price of oil on Wednesday [22 August] suddenly surged to \$31 a barrel, the highest price since 1985.

Although the Soviet Union, as the world's biggest oil producer, would seem to be a beneficiary of an oil price hike its policy on the Gulf crisis is guided by entirely different considerations. It is strongly against any hasty use of force in the Gulf crisis which would inevitably entail a loss of life—moreover civilian as well as military casualties. Moscow believes that by far not all the diplomatic possibilities have been exhausted in the efforts to resolve the crisis. The fullest possible use must be made of the existing potential for a peaceful settlement.

The Soviet Union's stand, reflected in its activities in the United Nations Security Council, has been warmly praised by Prince Bandar Bin-Sultan of Saudi Arabia who brought a message to President Mikhail Gorbachev from King Fahd. The visit was part of the continuing diplomatic exchanges in Moscow in an effort to contribute to a speedy resolution of the Gulf crisis. In many respects the Soviet position is not unlike that of Great Britain whose Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd has argued for patience and the need to maintain a broad international consensus on actions against the aggressor. As for matters of principle the Soviet stand remains unchanged: it is essential in the Soviet view that the Iraqi forces be withdrawn from Kuwait and that the legitimate government of that country be restored. Only on these conditions can the situation in the Gulf be normalized and economic sanctions against the aggressor terminated.

Soviet diplomats have also made it clear to Baghdad that only on these conditions can the relations between the USSR and Iraq be normalized. In short, Soviet foreign policy in relation to the Gulf crisis is guided not by short term economic benefits but by the human values that the whole civilized world holds dear. [end recording]

Soviets Not Ready for Military Role in Gulf

PM2308154590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Aug 90 First Edition p 3

[Article by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer Vasilii Pustov under the rubric "The World Today: Problems and Opinions": "Will There Be War or Not?"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Recently the West has been discussing extremely actively the USSR's position and its attitude toward a military solution of the problem. THE WASHINGTON POST, for instance, thinks that "help from the Russians" is an essential condition of victory for America and other countries. And Britain's DAILY MAIL and TODAY claim that the USSR is almost ready to send its troops to Saudi Arabia in order to "fight there alongside the Americans."

Such fantasies portray Soviet policy in a false light, to put it mildly. While unreservedly condemning the aggression, fraught with the danger of a chain reaction, by Iraq, which has unceremoniously flouted international law, our country is doing everything to end the foreign occupation of Kuwait and to prevent hostilities from spreading to other countries.

The Soviet Union is pressing for the restoration by peaceful political means of the situation which existed prior to 2 August. Guided by the principle that Security Council decisions are binding on UN member states, the USSR will observe the sanctions regime established by Security Council Resolution 661 until such time as the crisis is eliminated.

This position strengthens the sanctions against the aggressor and at the same time curbs those who are inclined to gamble on force in this situation.

Defense Spokesman Denies Aiding Iraqi Invasion

LD2308165490 Moscow TASS in English 1619 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—A Soviet Defence Ministry spokesman dismissed as "a figment of imagination" Western media allegations that Colonel-General Albert Makashov has gone to Iraq and helped plan the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

Colonel-General Vitaliy Arapov, first deputy chief of the ministry's personnel administration, had this to say when asked by TASS to comment on the assertions:

"These reports are nothing but a figment of imagination. I declare officially that Colonel-General Makashov, commander of the Volga-Ural Military District, continues to perform his associated duties.

"During the past few months, he never left the Soviet Union. His working trips were limited to Moscow, where he attended the Russian Communist Party conference and congress and the 28th congress of the Soviet Communist Party."

Soviet Official Meets Algerian Ambassador

LD1708134290 Rabat MAP in English 1253 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, Aug, 17 (MAP)—The latest developments of the situation in the Gulf were reviewed at a

meeting here Thursday [23 August] between Vice-President of the Supreme Soviet M. Nichanov [name and title as received] and Morocco's Ambassador to Moscow Rafik al-Haddaoui who had been recently appointed minister in charge of the affairs of the Moroccan community settled abroad.

During the meeting held on the occasion of the end of Al-Haddaoui's mission in the Soviet Union, the two sides underlined their respective countries' stand regarding the Gulf crisis. Nichanov reaffirmed in this respect that the USSR condemns the Iraqi aggression and stresses the need to reinstate legality and the legitimate power in Kuwait while al-Haddaoui recalled that Morocco had strongly denounced the military invasion of Kuwait.

The two sides also reviewed bilateral relations that they described as 'excellent' and underlined the need to intensify further political consultations between Morocco and the USSR.

Saudi Prince Bandar Interviewed on Gulf Crisis

Assails Iraq's 'Injustice'

LD2308190790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Interview by V. Belitskiy with Saudi Arabia's Bandar Bin-Sultan, from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Bandar in English, fading into Russian translation] Our stand is very simple. We are for justice. Blatant aggression and clear injustice have been committed against the small peaceloving state of Kuwait. And we are absolutely certain that these actions must be denounced, that such actions cannot be justified in any way. If we were to agree to this seizure, no country and no border in the world would be safe. We are exceptionally pleased with the stance taken by the Soviet Union, which shares our view that this is wrong, that this is aggression, that Iraq must get out of Kuwait, and that the legitimate government must return to the country.

[Belitskiy] Your country has ended up at the center of events. Major international Armed Forces are based on your territory, and in connection with this Saddam Husayn is calling for a holy war by Arabs against the West. As a representative of a country that contains places sacred to Arabs, what would you say about these calls by Iraq?

[Bandar] Baghdad is calling for a holy war, but in order to call for a war you yourself must be holy. Everyone in the Arab world knows, however, that Saddam Husayn is remote from religion, yet suddenly he has begun talking like a second Khamene'i. Muslims in the Arab world, including those in Saudi Arabia, are intelligent enough not to believe in this sudden transformation.

[Belitskiy] Do you think Arab unity will survive this crisis?

[Bandar] If you had asked me this one day or even one hour before Iraq's aggression, I would have answered that Arab unity is so strong that we can overcome anything. And believe me, we were shocked and wounded to the depths of our hearts. We simply could not believe that an Arab brother could do what Saddam Husayn has done to Kuwait. We advocate Arab unity; we would like to see it restored.

Views Soviet Role

PM2408084990 Moscow TRUD in Russian
24 Aug 90 p 3

[Interview with Prince Bandar Bin-Sultan, special representative of the Saudi leadership, by own correspondents I. Belov and A. Repin; place and date not given: "No Justification for Aggression. Saudi Prince's Opinion"—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Saudi Arabia has no diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. Its interests in our country are represented by the Kuwaiti Embassy. Through the mediation of the USSR Foreign Ministry and the Kuwaiti diplomatic mission in Moscow, TRUD correspondents met Bandar Bin-Sultan, special representative of the Saudi leadership. He is 42 years of age and currently Saudi ambassador in Washington.

During his brief visit to Moscow, the Saudi representative had a two-hour talk with E.A. Shevardnadze. The dialogue focused on the acute crisis in the Persian Gulf. The question of raising the level of Soviet-Saudi political and diplomatic relations was also positively discussed.

[Bandar Bin-Sultan] In the past, our two countries "kept their distance," so to speak, in their relations. But since Mikhail Gorbachev arrived at the head of the Soviet leadership and the policy of new thinking—which is of historic importance for the entire world—was proclaimed, our relations have been getting closer and closer.

I have come to your country at the invitation of the Soviet Government to discuss the explosive situation in the Persian Gulf. Our position on this issue is unambiguous: We advocate justice. Iraq staged aggression against the small and peace-loving state of Kuwait. There is no justification for this act. Such actions should not go unpunished, otherwise legal borders between states could be threatened in other areas as well. We very much value the Soviet Union's position at the United Nations in condemning Iraq's impudent aggression, and the fact that the USSR resolutely insists on the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait and the restoration of that country's legitimate government and sovereignty. You are, of course, aware that virtually the entire world has condemned the Iraqi aggression. I would also like to say that in this connection our two countries have things to consider. After all, the aggression against Kuwait was carried out with the help of Soviet weapons and our money. That is why we are jointly responsible for restoring Kuwait's sovereignty.

[TRUD] As is well known, major foreign military contingents—primarily American—are concentrated in Saudi Arabia. In this connection Iraqi President S. Husayn has called on the Muslim world to launch a "jihad"—a holy war against the West—on the pretext of defending Islam's holy places. What do you think of that?

[Bandar] As a representative of the country that is the guardian of these holy places, I would like to say this: In order to call for a "holy war" you have to be literally holy yourself. However, everyone knows that President Husayn is not particularly religious. But suddenly he's talking like Khomeyni. Muslims worldwide are clever enough to realize what's what and not give in to this kind of appeal.

But the issue is not whether there are foreign troops in Saudi Arabia. Yes, currently there are Armed Forces from friendly countries—Western, Arab, and Muslim countries—on our territory. But why are they there? The Iraqi president is responsible for it. After all, the deployment of international forces in Saudi Arabia was our reaction to Iraq's seizure of Kuwait. We see this aggression as a threat to the security of Saudi Arabia and other states in the region. As for Islam's holy places, my country has always been and continues to be their reliable guardian.

[TRUD] How do you view Iraq's use of foreign citizens as hostages?

[Bandar] This step is not only inhumane but anti-Arab and anti-Islamic. S. Husayn is to all intents and purposes hiding behind women and children. The aggression has done great damage to the cause of Arab unity, which will be very hard to repair.

Saudi Algiers Envoy Criticizes Iraqi Aggression

PM2308133590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
23 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Portanskiy: "Saudi Arabian Ambassador Introduces Clarity"]

[Text] Algiers—The presence of U.S. troops on the territory of Saudi Arabia is caused by the danger of aggression by Iraq, Muhammad al-Faqi, Saudi Arabian ambassador to Algeria, stated during a news conference he had organized. But the ambassador expressed regret that the United States, a foreign power, and not the Arabs, was defending Islamic holy places. At the same time Arab participation in the multinational forces deployed in the Persian Gulf region is by no means only of symbolic significance.

Answering a question about the statement by U.S. Defense Secretary Cheney to the effect that U.S. troops may remain on Saudi territory until 1992, M. al-Faqi explained that there is no such accord and that in

accordance with the agreement existing between the two countries the U.S. Army subunits may be withdrawn at any time.

The Saudi ambassador categorically refuted the claim by the Egyptian news agency MENA that his country has cancelled its next donation to the PLO amounting to \$15 million as a sanction for the PLO's vote against Riyadh at the recent Arab summit in Cairo. "As a member of the League of Arab States the PLO has the right to vote against a resolution denouncing the Iraqi invasion," M. al-Faqi stated.

Saudi Arabia has always respected its commitments in OPEC, including the quotas it has set. This phrase of the ambassador's contained one more denial concerning a possible increase in oil extraction to compensate for the reduced deliveries from Iraq and Kuwait in connection with the embargo which has been imposed. Such a decision cannot be taken by Saudi Arabia without the agreement of the other OPEC members.

Kuwaiti Envoy in Bonn Interviewed on Crisis

LD2408100690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0920 GMT 24 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Semenov and Andrey Serov]

[Text] Bonn, 24 Aug (TASS)—"Sorry, but a report from our embassy is impossible for security reasons. You are welcome to interview the ambassador, though". This conversation ended the three-day attempts by TASS correspondents to visit the diplomatic mission to find out about its work in unusual conditions.

You must agree that the state it represents in fact does not exist. True, the government still exists; it has moved to Saudi Arabia. Iraqi soldiers are marching, perhaps, along the street where the Kuwaiti Foreign Ministry was situated.

How is the embassy functioning since the country was occupied? What is it doing and how do its staffers feel? Khalid al-Babtayn, Kuwaiti ambassador in the FRG, answered these questions.

The embassy continues its work; life goes on, after all. We have established daily communications with the government. The whole world has condemned the Iraqi aggression against my country. Kuwait is still recognized everywhere as an independent state and its embassy as representing the legitimate government. Therefore, we maintain regular contacts with the FRG Foreign Ministry.

However, the ambassador continued, many people among our personnel are concerned. You see, it is not very easy to live under occupation. Of course, conditions in Kuwait are harsh now: Iraqi soldiers are using such methods of "establishing order" which are neither humane nor legal. But here everything remains normal for the time being. The personnel are the same and our

salaries have not changed, he smiles. Altogether the embassy has four diplomats and 13 local clerks.

Continuing our conversation, we asked how events will develop further. Does the ambassador regard as possible a military clash between the United States and Iraq? Any variants could now arise, replied the diplomat. Everything depends on the position of Baghdad. It is to Baghdad that the demands of the international community to withdraw its troops from Kuwait and to restore the legitimate government there are addressed. I do not know whether there will be a war. But if it does happen, the entire responsibility will rest on the Iraqi regime.

As for the position of the Soviet Union, I have to say that it pleases us. The USSR condemned the aggression against Kuwait. It is acting hand in hand with the United Nations. Suffice it to recall that the Security Council resolutions on the Iraq-Kuwait conflict were adopted unanimously. I am very pleased that such excellent relations exist between the Soviet Union and Kuwait; moreover they have existed for a very long time.

Do we exert any sort of pressure on the FRG government to that Bonn should take a direct part in the actions in the Persian Gulf by, for instance, sending Bundesmarine warships there? We are pleased with the reaction of the German people and government. Right from the start they condemned the Iraqi aggression. However, certain limitations exist, imposed by the constitution. We are working in such a direction as to make it possible for the federal government to increase its participation in the region.

Do I remember the last dispatch from Kuwait before the aggression? No, I do not. The usual daily correspondence has been and continues to be in progress. Have there been contacts with the Iraqi ambassador? No.

In conclusion, we asked the ambassador to say a few words about himself. I am a professional diplomat, he said. I have been working here since 1986. Am I related to any member of the Kuwaiti ruling dynasty? I will let you in on a small secret, smiled the ambassador expansively—the entire Kuwaiti people are one family....

Evacuation of Citizens From Kuwait Complete

LD2408115190 Moscow TASS in English 1132 GMT 24 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—The evacuation of Soviet citizens from Kuwait has been completed. The last group of evacuees arrived in Moscow from Baghdad by a special Aeroflot flight this morning.

It is planned that the evacuation of Soviet citizens from Iraq will begin on August 26, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told TASS.

The first group, consisting mainly of women and children, will be brought home by an Aeroflot plane directly from Baghdad, the spokesman added.

Commentaries Report on Persian Gulf Crisis

Hostage Crisis 'Most Painful'

PM2408152390 Moscow IZVESTIYA
in Russian 25 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by political observer Stanislav Kondrashov: "Hostages"]

[Text] The hostages problem has become the most painful aspect of the dramatic confrontation in the Near East.

Saddam Husayn is protecting himself from George Bush's combat might behind a shield comprising 3,000 Americans who were in Kuwait and Iraq at the moment of crisis and whom he is not allowing to leave. The same applies to thousands of British and French citizens and to citizens of other Western states prepared to take any measures, including military measures, to counter Iraq's occupation of Kuwait. Some Americans and more than 100 Britons have already been taken and transported away by the Iraqi authorities. It was announced that they have been moved to "strategic targets": If you bomb these targets, your compatriots will also suffer. If you wish them to return home, pull your forces out of Saudi Arabia, lift the blockade in the Persian Gulf—and leave Kuwait to Iraq.

This is the deal bluntly offered by Husayn. Bush has rejected it. Having avoided the word "hostages" for two and a half weeks, he now openly declared: "...No matter how these totally innocent people might be described, in essence they are hostages. And I want no misunderstandings on this account. I will hold the Iraqi Government responsible for the safety and well-being of U.S. citizens detained against their will."

Our own people in Kuwait and Iraq are better treated by Baghdad—not without political goals in sight, wishing to create a difference of interests between Moscow and Washington, between the USSR and the West on this painful issue, and to gain from such a difference. Virtually all Soviet citizens have been moved out of Kuwait, and their evacuation from Iraq is about to begin. Fine. A state's paramount duty is to show concern for its citizens' safety. When this duty is performed at a critical time, the authorities' actions merit twice as much gratitude by the relatives of those in danger and by the whole of society....

But.... But the absolute condition is that the release of Soviet people should not be paid for by a retreat from publicly declared positions or a slackening of resistance to the aggressor. On the contrary, Moscow must now utilize the ties it retains with Baghdad to the utmost and most definitely in the world community's interests, demanding the release of Americans, Britons, and all

their brothers in misfortune detained in Iraq and occupied Kuwait. This line emerged during Ryzhkov's and Shevardnadze's conversations with the Iraqi leadership's representative Hammadi who visited Moscow. It must be pursued with full determination. Baghdad must have no misconceptions of the Soviet positions on this account.

The painful issue of hostages is also the touchstone which the West, with understandable captiousness, uses to test the correspondence between Moscow's words and deeds during this first acute conflict since the end of the "cold war" which split the world into two blocs—at times to the joy of "gratified bystanders." The Soviet behavior is attentively watched not only by official circles in various countries but also by the broad public. Policy is best perceived and accepted when it "touches" people's hearts, when it affects human lives. The hostages are women, men, and children (yes, children!) who appeal to our conscience, who are being tied to merciless millstones which are turned by immoral adventurers.

This week our newspaper carried, on the same days and in parallel, two news stories concerning hostages. They were "split" and appeared on different pages and, no matter how strange this might seem, they were not associated in our minds. One was unfolding in Iraq. The other involved the capture of an aircraft in Neryungr (South Yakutia) by criminals who were being moved from one place of detention to another without a strong enough escort or adequate prevention measures. The criminals, hiding behind a living shield comprising 29 hostage passengers, got to Karachi (Pakistan) where they gave themselves up to the authorities, obviously ignorant of the fact that what awaited them was not freedom but a Pakistani jail. It is more difficult to foresee Saddam Husayn's fate, but the hallmark is the same in principle: Take cover behind the first convenient group of people so as to avoid punishment. But his crime is greater—the capture of an entire country.

As far as we are concerned, hostages are no longer something detached, something that happens on the other side. Alas, our present stormy—and quite confusing—life produces more and more such cases. Generally speaking, hostage-taking is as old as the world and the immoral, godless principle underlying it: All means justify the end. On digging into history, meticulous people will find that Gaius Julius Caesar was held hostage at one time in his life. Back in 75 B.C. he was captured by pirates but he obtained his release by paying a ransom, in order to later on capture and crucify his captors. Closer to our own time, during the last century, when Russia was taking over the Caucasus, hostage-taking was practiced by both sides and Dal's "Explanatory Dictionary" contains the following definition of a hostage: "Surety, someone taken or given as pledge to secure compliance with a treaty." This, as you can see, is the chivalrous meaning of hostage-taking. Completely different from that in, say, the thirties in the 20th century, when Chamberlain, by signing the Munich agreement, seemed to give Czechoslovakia as hostage to

pacify Hitler. During the Patriotic War the Germans, in their attempt to defeat the partisans, used the inhabitants of many Belorussian villages as hostages. Hostage-taking always involves blackmail. Did the NKVD investigators not resort to it in Stalin's torture chambers, when they extracted "confessions" from innocent people by threatening to arrest and torture their wives and children?

If we take recent years, then it is Americans who have been hostages more often than others and the target of blackmail has been the U.S. Government. Objectively this is payment for America's "ubiquity," for its omnipresence in the world, for the globalism of its policy, and, however paradoxical it may seem at first glance, for its strength. American strength cannot be countered head on. That is why anti-American extremist terrorist groups and entire states seek other methods of stinging America to the quick and "hitting the bull's-eye" and they find them by taking Americans hostage, since two million of them live, work, and travel outside their own country. A ruler like Husayn is politically allowed to put several hundred thousand Iraqis into the war against Iran, which he himself has now deprived of any meaning by accepting Tehran's initial terms. Yet every American life has a high political price and the U.S. President has to be accountable to Congress, the press, and the people for every hostage's fate. Jimmy Carter "got burnt" in the 1980 elections largely because for 444 days Ayatollah Khomeini had kept hostage the personnel of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran and the clandestine attempt finally made to free them failed ignominiously and publicly.

President Bush still has two years to go before the elections but for him the political risk has never been so great as it is now, when a new Near East crisis is developing. Americans will judge his resolve, courage, and farsightedness by how he succeeds in resolving the acute problem of the hostages in Kuwait and Iraq. Washington's stake is a high one but for the Soviet leadership it is a stake in common with Washington.

The world is closely observing the effectiveness of the two powers' collaboration. The observing is being done by, among others, potential aggressors—surely they have not ceased to exist? Crude aggression should not be seen to pay off, so as to teach others a lesson. Innocent people should not be lambs for the slaughter in anyone's hands. In the painful question of the hostages President Bush and the other Western leaders have the right to count on the support of the Soviet leadership, considering, with complete justification, that this support is an important yardstick of a degree of civilization which rejects piracy and lawlessness.

Soviets Criticized on Hostage Issue

*LD2408160390 Moscow Domestic Service
in Russian 1500 GMT 24 Aug 90*

[Text] As usual, IZVESTIYA provides an extensive panorama of the regional conflict in the Persian Gulf. Among the materials on this topic, I would like to dwell on two.

Was the Soviet Union aware of the aggression which Baghdad was preparing against Kuwait? Was the Kremlin informed beforehand of Saddam Husayn's plans? And, finally, what are the Soviet military in this country doing now? All these questions are raised in Kovalenko's article entitled: "Was Moscow Aware of the Aggression Which was Being Prepared?"

The problem of the hostages remains the most inflamed point in the dramatic confrontation in the Near East. Saddam Husayn has covered himself against the United States military might with a shield of 3,000 Americans who found themselves in Kuwait and Iraq at the moment of the crisis and whom he is not releasing.

The same applies to thousands of Britons, French, and citizens of other Western states. Baghdad adopted a better attitude to our people in Kuwait and Iraq. Virtually all Soviet citizens have been taken out of Kuwait and the evacuation from Iraq is to start any moment. In the painful issue of the hostages President Bush and other Western leaders have the right to count on the support of the Soviet leadership, being fully justified in regarding it as a criterion of civilized behavior, not accepting brigandage and lawlessness.

"Hostages" is the title of the article by IZVESTIYA's political observer Stanislav Kondrashov which raises the problems of the Soviet Union's attitude toward the Near East crisis.

Iraq's 'Duplicity' Cited

*PM2308180990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 4*

["Political Observer's Opinion" by Aleksandr Bovin under the rubric: "Panorama of International Life": "The Kuwait Test"]

[Text] The improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations was so swift that for a time there persisted a sense of unreality and artificiality. It seemed that the growing mutual understanding rested not on the sound basis of closeness or identity of Soviet and U.S. vital interests but the very fine thread of personal friendship linking our two countries' leaders. Continuing progress at the disarmament talks, agreement on the future of Germany, and the increasingly intensive exchange of people and ideas are gradually removing this impression. And yet the outbreak of acute, extraordinary situations demanding the rapid coordination of positions and the adoption of common decisions has hitherto been regarded as the test of the soundness and stability of Soviet-U.S. relations.

And now we have the Kuwait test....

I am sure that even 5-10 years ago the annexation of Kuwait by Iraq would have provoked another outbreak of Soviet-U.S. enmity. In regard to Baghdad's action Moscow would at least have adopted a position of friendly neutrality; the appearance of U.S. Armed Forces on Saudi territory and the pressure on Iraq would have been described as unacceptable interference by "U.S.

imperialism" in the affairs of the Arab world and contrary to international law. For its part, Washington would not have failed loudly to accuse the "Soviets" of supporting aggression, indulging the "Baghdad terrorist regime," and attempting to wreck the UN line of stemming aggression.

These were the customary and universally understood rules of "peaceful coexistence" between the United States and the USSR. Now other rules have come into being. Passing the Kuwait test, both Moscow and Washington have condemned Iraq's aggression in identical terms, demanded the restoration of the status quo ante, and supported the relevant UN Security Council resolutions. The Soviet Union has not objected to the transfer of U.S. military units to Saudi Arabia or U.S. naval ships to the Persian Gulf.

For Moscow this has been a difficult and sharp turn. And not just because we were accustomed to support radical left-wing "anti-imperialist" regimes, particularly if their leaders learned to pronounce the word "socialism." Special relations bound us to Iraq. They were enshrined in the Soviet-Iraqi Treaty on Friendship, and Cooperation, concluded 9 April 1972. We helped Iraq create a battleworthy army. Our specialists worked (and are working) in various sectors of the Iraqi national economy. Thinking in terms of global confrontation with America and understanding the role that the Middle and Near East play in this confrontation, Moscow regarded good relations with Iraq as a great geostrategic benefit to the Soviet Union.

But not everything always ran smoothly. In particular, Moscow greeted without any delight Saddam Husayn's intention of crushing Khomeyni by blitzkrieg. We had no interest in an Iraqi victory; it would shift the balance of forces in the region too sharply and unpredictably. But, by the same token, we did not wish Iraq to suffer defeat. And when the outlines of such a defeat became increasingly discernible, Moscow helped Baghdad stay on its feet.

One might have expected that after an eight-year-long and far-from-triumphant war Baghdad would calm down and come to its senses—but alas! Common sense surrendered to pride and arrogance. Kuwait was, after all, weaker and smaller than Iraq. And so they went into Kuwait....

Baghdad's blatantly, cynically aggressive actions effectively left Moscow no choice. Not to support it but simply to close one's eyes and pretend that nothing unusual was happening would mean showing the whole world the hypocrisy and duplicity of Soviet international policy, calling in question the achievements of detente, and freezing disarmament. All this ran firmly counter to our interests, our principles, and the system of priorities laid down in the context of the new political thinking.

Moscow has condemned the annexation of Kuwait and supported the embargo. One could say that whereas formerly, in the cold war years, the attitude toward

regional conflicts was bound to counterpose and divide the USSR and the United States, now—and, hopefully, in the future—it will bring them together and reveal new points of contact.

Does this mean that the Soviet approach to the Kuwait crisis can be regarded as identical to the U.S. approach? I think not.

Moscow is putting its money on the United Nations, on collective efforts, and it believes that the actions of the states involved in the conflict must not stray outside the framework of UN decisions. If, for example, we are talking about an embargo, then it is only an embargo (the Security Council recommends stopping trade with Iraq, but each UN member decides for itself whether or not to accept this recommendation), not a naval blockade, not the use of force to make everyone observe the embargo. Perhaps the development of events will lead to the need for a blockade, to the use of force, but all this must take place in accordance with a UN decision, under UN auspices, and under the UN flag. To all appearances, Beijing is of the same opinion.

Washington is banking on its own strength. The United Nations is taking its time—the United States does not want to waste time. The Americans are disposed toward resolute and independent actions, partly coordinated on a bilateral basis with one Arab country or other.

Noting a certain inhibition and sluggishness on the part of the United Nations, the Japanese paper THE JAPAN TIMES observed: "We are afraid that the United Nations has not displayed the necessary firmness vis-a-vis Baghdad. American will has filled the vacuum. We should all be ashamed of this." I would not deny this. The community of states is only just learning to work together in protecting international law and the new world order that is taking shape. The corresponding UN mechanisms have not yet grown strong. And it is difficult in this case to criticize the Americans for getting on with it, for not waiting for the UN "rear" to catch up and take responsibility. They are taking a risk, of course. All the more reason for wishing them success.

U.S. public opinion in general supports Bush's line. But one also hears criticism. Should the Americans be fighting for sheikhs and emirs? Hasn't Bush come too near the point where the "great democracy" becomes a "world gendarme"? As regards gendarme, the associations are strong. There was Grenada. There was Panama. Incidentally, there was no "firmness" at all then. And who can say they are not being repaid in their own coin? It is hard to shake off the idea that Saddam Husayn inwardly digested and decided to make practical use of the lessons of recent history.

But everyone can benefit from the lessons of history. We above all. Haven't we tied our hands too tightly with "friendship and cooperation"? Haven't we been too indiscriminate in our choice of "friends"? By posing these rhetorical questions I have no wish at all to counterpose politics to morality and accuse the former of

disregarding the latter. Realism demands the admission that the gap between politics and morality cannot really be closed. It is all a question of proportion, of degree, of observance of definite (or, rather, indefinite) proportions that enable one to reconcile conscience with effectiveness. Incidentally, the more often a politician talks about moral principles in politics (his own politics, of course), the more vulnerable he is to criticism. Because pious words, as a rule, do not bear comparison with political practice. And if there is no way to refrain from moralizing, then the only salvation is a sense of proportion.

It would be sensible to take stock of the countries and individuals with whom we have established privileged relations. Let there be fewer illusions, fewer unwarranted expectations, and more healthy pragmatism. I hope that the Kuwait test will also be useful from a broader viewpoint.

...No one knows what turn events will take. There are two far from equal possibilities—peaceful or nonpeaceful. The final choice lies with Baghdad. And one would very much like to think that there are soberminded politicians in the Iraqi capital who will opt for peace and leave Kuwait alone.

Impact of Sanctions Eyed

90UF0495A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian No 34, 22 Aug 90 pp 1, 3

[Report for LITERATURNAYA GAZETA by Yevgeniy Mikitenko, correspondent of IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK: "Will an Austerity Policy Help?"]

[Text] Baghdad—Mid-August in Iraq. This is the time of date-ripening. This country accounts for 75 percent of world date exports. It seems that this year's abundant harvest, which will have to be gathered at the start of September, will have to be eaten by the Iraqis themselves.

The number of guards at government buildings and establishments in Baghdad has increased. The color green in the crowd of pedestrians on the streets has been "augmented." There are small lines at the dry cleaners: Many Iraqis—military and members of the Ba'th Party—have pulled from their closets their austere green uniforms, which had been hanging there for about two years—since 20 August 1988 when the cease-fire agreement on the Iraq-Iran front came into effect. Notices have appeared once again at the entrances to many hotels and restaurants, as in the years of the Iraq-Iran conflict: "You are requested not to enter with weapons" or "Hand over weapons for storage by the management." People are heatedly discussing an article carried in the press concerning methods of protecting the population against chemical weapons of mass destruction.

The pumping of Iraqi oil via the pipeline which runs across Turkey has ceased, and its shipment from Turkish ports has been banned. The economic and trade embargo

against Iraq has begun to take effect. The country's government has called for careful storage and economies of food.

It was announced several days ago that the Iraqi dinar would henceforward be the equivalent of its Kuwaiti counterpart. Such an exchange was in effect in 1980 prior to the start of the Iraq-Iran war. But just a month ago the moneychangers on the celebrated Kuwaiti market were giving 13 Iraqi dinars for one Kuwaiti dinar.... The average wage of an Iraqi engineer today is 150 dinars. The idea is that he can now purchase a VCR in the "Iraqi" Kuwait City with this money.

By the will of fate approximately 9,000 of our compatriots were in Iraq and Kuwait in the first days of August. The Soviet leadership's decision on evacuation was accepted calmly and without fuss. Some 880 persons will be taken by bus from Kuwait initially to Iraq and then to Jordan, whence they will fly to Moscow. From Iraq itself it is planned for now to evacuate women and children.

It has to be said that both the Iraqi Foreign Ministry and the Jordanian Embassy in Baghdad are cooperating with our diplomats. The necessary papers are being drawn up quickly. Questions of transport, medicines, food, and rest are being plainly resolved. So relatives may be at ease.

Soviet people from Kuwait are being sent home first of all. It has not been that easy for many of them: In the 50-degree heat there have been interruptions in the power supply, and this, believe me, is not that pleasant a sensation.

According to a statement of Iraq's Foreign Ministry, all diplomatic missions in Kuwait City must leave before 24 August. In other words, the embassies of all countries must be located in Baghdad—the capital of "united" Iraq. What will happen to the brand-new, almost complete Soviet Embassy building in Kuwait? There is as yet no answer to that question.

Iraqi-Sudanese Ties

LD2308201890 Moscow in English to Africa
1700 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] [Announcer] Referring to the information sources of Sudan, the Egyptian newspaper AL-WAFD informed about the consent of the military Sudanese regime to let Iraq have certain military bases on its territory. Commentary by Vladimir Borisov:

Only a narrow strip of the strait that is called the Red Sea separates Sudan from the Saudi coast at the place where Mecca and Jeddah, the largest cities in Saudi Arabia which the United States volunteered to protect, are situated. If military actions nonetheless would begin the circumstance perhaps would play not the last role in the development of events. By the way, let the professional generals judge it themselves. The generals were sticking

to their maps and assessing on their computers the best possible way out and the possible results of the planned operations.

Today Khartoum made an attempt to repudiate the report of a Cairo newspaper, but irrespective of whether such proposals were made, it is evident, refraining from discussing the Iraq aggression against Kuwait, the regime of General 'Umar al-Bashir has in that way determined its position in the situation which is today termed the most critical split in the Arab world history. By the way, the Arab world itself, a unique ethnic and political structure, always existed in two mutually exclusive regimes simultaneously in conditions of relative dissociation and relative unity. Each considerable political event that has to do with the Arabs, whether the Arab-Israeli war or the internecine war in Lebanon, always gave an impulse for a split and also for the consolidation of the forces of unity. Various political and economic factors in the past stipulated the situation like that, but two of them remained unchanged—the influence of the crisis events on the world oil markets and differences in the attitude of the Arab countries towards the external forces having interests and therefore leading an active policy in the Near East.

Therefore, no matter how reckless is the adventure the president of Iraq, Saddam Husayn, is resolved to carry out it is evident that he has not made a mistake in his calculations of the interests of some Arab, and not only the Arab countries, connected with the rise of prices on oil and also in the hope on the increase of the anti-American moods in the Arab world.

What has concretely determined in this situation the position of the Afro-Arabic Sudan, or to be more concise its military government staking on the internal and external policy, on the rights of the Islamic fundamentalists? Holding power for more than a year already the regime of 'Umar al-Bashir could not after all find a constructive way of solving acute economic and political problems of the country. Now the conflict between Khartoum and the rebel Christians in the south of Sudan seems more fierce and more hopeless. The opposition to the regime from the political parties and the trade unions, prohibited by it, is increasing. Experts say that the economic situation in the country is catastrophic. The military in Khartoum are trying to fight all these problems, staking first of all on external support.

Massive military supplies to Sudan from Iraq are continuing from the end of last year. The weapons coming from the Iraq radicalists are being used in the struggle with the insurgents. Great hopes are being pinned on cooperation with other radical forces in the Arab world, first of all with Libya. At the same time it became clear in late months that the generals in Khartoum do not have to count on American assistance. The plan of the inter-Sudan settlement proposed by the Assistant State Secretary of the United States Herman Cohen envisages the creation of a multi party system in the country and the division in that condition of the government forces and

the insurgents, with the use of the United Nations forces. But a multi party system does not in any way enter the plans of the Sudanese military. All that determines the position of Khartoum as regards the present crisis in the Persian gulf. This external political position is an indirect confirmation of the invariableness of the former internal political course of Khartoum.

Varied Reactions Noted

PM2408101790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 Aug 90 Second Edition pp 4-5

[Doctor of Historical Sciences Aleksey Vasilyev "Reflections And Forecasts": "A Chain of Unpredictable Consequences"]

[Text] Red, green, and Palestinian flags are flying above Kuwait. Some 300,000 Palestinian immigrants were given citizenship of the Kuwaiti People's Democratic Republic and staged a joyous demonstration, welcoming the creation of the Iraq-Kuwait confederation. In Moscow, a mob protesting against U.S. imperialist intervention in the Persian Gulf, in direct proximity to the USSR's southern borders, tried to burn down the U.S. Embassy. The Soviet Government stated that it would not permit a blockade against friendly Iraq and sent a naval squadron to the Persian Gulf. The United States accused the USSR of trying to spread communist dominion to the Gulf zone through its client—Iraq—and of suffocating the West by cutting off oil supplies from the Gulf....

Is the author off his head, the reader asks. No. He was just using the old Soviet propaganda cliches to create a scenario of events that could have happened only a few years ago, but now seems the product of a sick imagination.

The world is changing at a dizzy pace. At the United Nations, the USSR and the Western countries jointly condemned the aggressor—Iraq. The United States and its allies imposed an embargo on purchases of Iraqi and "stolen" Kuwaiti oil and froze Iraqi and Kuwaiti assets, stepping sanctions up practically to the level of an economic blockade. The USSR stopped supplying weapons to Iraq. It was joined in its actions by the two other main suppliers of weapons to the country—France and China. The aggressor has been called an aggressor and he deserves to be punished. Despite the fact that this stance will mean serious, albeit temporary, economic and political losses for the USSR in the region and difficult problems even of a humanitarian nature—after all, there are several thousand Soviet specialists and members of their families in Iraq and Kuwait and they must be brought out.

It appears that at the present stage the Soviet leadership is conducting a balanced policy that accords with our interests. Diplomatic relations with Baghdad have not been severed and a permanent channel of communications, consultations, and even influence remains open. The Soviet leadership is not paying attention either to

appeals by some Soviet media, which are wallowing in their newly acquired piety and calling the USSR's revenue from increased oil prices "cynical" or any weapons sale "immoral." Sure, one should not be naive and starry-eyed. High oil prices will certainly improve our trade balance. As for the weapons trade.... Sweden and France are flourishing not only because they trade just in beer or cosmetics. No, I am not trying to justify anything.... At the same time, I believe that all the main suppliers could agree among themselves to stop exporting weapons. Would Baghdad's political behavior change if it had French or Chinese, rather than Soviet tanks?

Moreover, we do not want to be indulging in self-flagellation over our past. In fact, the emphasis on weapon supplies to the Third World as a whole was erroneous, but it was dictated by the logic of confrontation. Would one regard supplies of U.S. armaments to the shah of Iran or Pakistan's military dictators as more "moral" than Soviet exports to Iraq or Libya? A new era demands new criteria. But they must be devised by joint efforts.

However, the logic of the treatment of events in the Persian Gulf zone varies: in the Soviet Union, in the West, and in the Near and Middle East region. In the West there is practically a consensus in support of the efforts of the United States as leader of the Western world, even military measures. There is universal approval in the West for the USSR's position, meaning that this time we have endorsed the actions of the civilized world and share its values and concerns. Although, what they are including among these values, consciously or unconsciously, is egotistical priorities—the need to safeguard at all costs the flow of oil from the Persian Gulf basin, on regular supplies of which the normal functioning of the economies of West Europe, Japan, and a number of other countries depend.

The perception of events in the Arab World and in the Third World as a whole is the same as in the West in some cases. This is indicated, for example, by the behavior of the leaders of Egypt—the leading Arab country.

However, both at the statesman level and at the level of the masses, the attitude toward the West's actions is often different: "You talk about civilized behavior and the need to observe the principles of international law. How does the intervention in Grenada or Panama square with this logic of Washington's? Did someone invite you in? Does it mean you can, but Iraq can't? Is this not dual moral and political standards? And what is your reaction to the occupation of the Arab state of Palestine, recognized by most members of the international community, by another state—Israel? So you condemn Iraq, but not Israel? Several hundred people have perished in Kuwait. It is a major human tragedy. Yet during the intifadah—the Palestinian uprising in the West Bank and in Gaza—more have perished..."

The Arabs still remember the recent era of colonialism, the occupation of most Arab countries by West European powers. Therefore, the appearance of U.S. Armed Forces on Arab territory is viewed by no means unambiguously. Many Arabs are still traumatized as a result of Israel's behavior toward the Palestinians, and their religious feelings were acutely offended as a result of the occupation of East Jerusalem with its Muslim holy places. A wave of Islamic fundamentalism with an anti-Western, anti-American flavor is swelling from the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf.

Although the word "imperialism" has disappeared from the vocabulary of Soviet propaganda, it remains in the Arabs' vocabulary. By demagogically exploiting the issue of Israeli-occupied Arab lands, Saddam Husayn is touching a sore spot. It strikes a chord with many.

The presence of U.S. forces on Arab soil, of course, destabilizes the political situation in other countries friendly to the United States as well. Not for nothing did the founder of Saudi Arabia 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Sa'ud, at a meeting with U.S. President Roosevelt in 1945, make it a condition of cooperation with the United States that U.S. forces should not be introduced into Saudi territory. The Arab countries in the Gulf have always preferred the U.S. military presence to be "over the horizon." Riyadh's decision to invite U.S. forces was, of course, a hard decision that was forced on it. Riyadh is well aware of Baghdad's "logic": If Kuwait is declared an "Iraqi province," then there are even more "grounds" also for declaring eastern territories of Saudi Arabia, which were part of the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the century and were governed from Al Basrah, an "Iraqi province." Obviously, Washington is aware of this too and its minimum aim is to prevent Iraq from seizing Saudi Arabia and to protect the lives of Western citizens in Kuwait and Iraq, while its maximum program is to restore Kuwait to its previous status and to bring down the Saddam Husayn regime in Iraq.

However, the consequences of the actions often fail to coincide with the set goals, particularly if a conflict drags on, deepens, and becomes more complicated. Let us not forget that "Christian" forces are stationed near the sacred land of Islam. And the longer they are there, the more friction or direct clashes one can expect with the local populace. Remember that Soviet forces were invited to Afghanistan by the government in Kabul. We know what happened.

One of the most intelligent and capable pro-Western political leaders in the Arab World—King Husayn of Jordan—is practically sitting on a volcano. What if Israeli Prime Minister Shamir and Saddam Husayn reach an understanding? What if a "Palestine" is set up on the territory of Jordan headed by a Palestinian president in exchange for the integration of the West Bank in Israel and assistance from Tel Aviv in the legalization of the capture of Kuwait? Incredible? But the annexation of Kuwait by Iraq would have seemed incredible yesterday. Too many incredible events are

taking place in the world. King Husayn's caution is understandable in view of all the realities of the situation.

But how do you explain the position of the leadership of the Palestinians who approved Baghdad's actions and reacted positively to the behavior of the powerful Arab country which is temporarily performing the role of a regional superpower? The PLO leadership turned its back on Kuwait, which had given refuge to 300,000 Palestinians and for many years had given the PLO financial, moral, and political support. Perhaps in the Arab World it is understandable that the PLO should adopt such a stance. Not to everyone, but understandable all the same. The anti-Western, anti-American mood encourages this PLO leadership stance. However, in the West, where in the past two decades the Palestinians have been able to acquire considerable goodwill, public sympathy for their cause, and appreciation of their tragedy and their problems, they could lose this goodwill by indulging in a whitewash.

The Israeli leaders are following the old logic in their behavior and are obviously satisfied to see Arabs warring with Arabs again. Once again they are occupied with inter-Arab problems. Once again they are unable to create a united front to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict. Maybe the Israeli leadership is actually planning steps geared both to tough, including military, confrontation with Iraq and to the achievement of an understanding with Saddam Husayn. Perhaps, amid the sound of crisis in the Gulf zone they are preparing to deal a blow to the intifadah. After all, Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982 took place to the accompaniment of the Falklands (Malvinas) crisis. But the present generation of Israeli leaders, particularly the "Likud" leaders, lacks both constructive ideas and imagination. It could accept the hand that was offered two years ago by the PLO leadership, when it recognized the State of Israel. It could say it is ready to compromise and participate in an international conference. Bring the history of conflict to a close and become part of the Near East community.... But no! The Israeli leadership is continuing to develop a nuclear weapons industry, it is making gas masks in the event of a chemical war, it is establishing new settlements on occupied territories, and it is dealing out harsher treatment to intifadah participants....

As for Iran, its leadership is again demonstrating an ability to combine inflammatory rhetoric with caution in practical actions. Tehran condemned the annexation of Kuwait, but it also condemned the appearance of U.S. forces in the Arabian peninsula and in the Persian Gulf. Tehran perhaps believes that at the present stage Washington is pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for Iran by weakening or destroying the odious Saddam Husayn regime in Baghdad. But Iran could also reach a compromise with Iraq, on an anti-American basis.

So we can see that each of the participants in the Near East tragedy is causing by its actions a chain of consequences, many of them unpredictable. Unfortunately,

too many people in Moscow believe that any step or action by the Soviet leadership, dictated by noble impulses, will meet with the approval of everyone everywhere. But, in a world filled with contradictions, there follows a contradictory reaction to these steps by Moscow. Indeed, by no means everyone in Moscow itself believes that cooperation and mutual understanding with the United States implies full and unconditional support for all Washington's actions. One has to be prepared for this.

What is brewing at the moment is the first "North-South" armed conflict since the end of the cold war. As a special part of the "North," the Soviet Union still has special relations with many Third World countries. In particular, it has a certain credibility with the Arabs and it is acquiring it in the West. For that reason it could play a constructive role in diminishing or settling the dangerous conflict in the Near and Middle East.

Pakistan Begins Proceedings in Hijack Case

*LD2308192290 Moscow TASS in English 1812 GMT
23 Aug 90*

[By TASS correspondent Vladislav Legantsov]

[Text] Islamabad August 23 TASS—According to Pakistani police officials, criminal proceedings have been initiated in Pakistan against eleven Soviet convicts who hijacked an Aeroflot Tupolev 154 airliner to Karachi.

Hijacking carries a death penalty or life imprisonment in Pakistan.

The Karachi-based DAWN newspaper today quoted "informed sources" as saying that Pakistan's Federal Bureau of Investigation has not yet thoroughly interrogated the hijackers, as it has failed to find a qualified interpreter.

Earlier, bureau agents taped the testimony of the Soviet plane's crew and Soviet policemen who were disarmed by the hijackers and taken hostage.

The Tupolev 154, on a domestic flight from Neryungri to Yakutsk, Siberia, was hijacked on August 19. The next day, after several flights within the Soviet union, the plane left for Pakistan on the hijackers' demand.

After landing in Karachi, the hijackers surrendered to Pakistani police and, according to unconfirmed reports, requested political asylum.

The Soviet plane with the crew and passengers returned to Tashkent.

Afghanistan's Najibullah Continues Moscow Visit

Meets With Ryzhkov

LD2408133390 Moscow TASS in English 1309 GMT
24 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov and President Najibullah of Afghanistan, who has vacationed in the Soviet Union, held talks in the Kremlin today.

They discussed a wide range of issues concerning Soviet-Afghan political interaction and economic cooperation.

The situation in Afghanistan was discussed first of all in the context of the Afghan leadership's dynamic policies and constructive proposals for achieving international and inter-Afghan accords to restore peace in the country.

Najibullah spoke highly of Soviet efforts to assist an Afghan settlement, including its external aspects and all-round help to Afghanistan at a difficult time in its development. This backing has appreciably helped national reconciliation policies and democratic change in Afghanistan.

Soviet-Afghan economic relations featured prominently during the discussion. Emphasis was put on the need to make fuller use of existing potential to make these relations mutually beneficial.

Najibullah expressed the Afghan leadership's profound gratitude to the people of the Soviet Union for their multifaceted support and solidarity.

Holds News Conference

LD2408142290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1400 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] President Najibullah of Afghanistan held a news conference in Moscow today. Following his holiday in Sochi, he arrived in the capital where he met with comrades Gorbachev, Ryzhkov, and also other leaders. Najibullah said at the news conference that the leaderships of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union understand each other fully on the question of ways toward a political settlement in Afghanistan.

I must also draw your attention to another detail of his conversation with journalists. Najibullah gave the assurance that his government will do all it can to release the Soviet prisoners-of-war.

Comparison of Soviet-Afghan Meeting

PM2308222590

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 24 August 1990 in its Second Edition on pages 1 and 3 carries a TASS report on the 23 August meeting of USSR President M.S. Gorbachev and Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze with President of the Republic of Afghanistan Najibullah. The IZVESTIYA item, entitled "Conversation With

USSR President," has been compared with the TASS version published in the 23 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pp. 26-27, revealing the following variation.

Page 26, column two, paragraph two, only sentence of the IZVESTIYA reads: ...and in future. The approaches to these solutions, which are now being intensively elaborated—in which connection the USSR President cut short his vacation—are to ensure the correct option, allowing the realization of the basic design of perestroika. And above all everything will be done to remove the acuteness of the socioeconomic situation. The decisions to be adopted will also enhance... (picking up paragraph four sentence two, rewording)

East Europe

KGB Major General Discusses Polish Border

PM2308151090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with USSR KGB Major General G. Bakach by V. Litovkin on 23 August, place not given: "Situation on Border"]

[Text] The situation on the Soviet-Polish border in connection with the "European Week in Lithuania" declared by the leadership of Sajudis and the Latvian and Estonian People's Fronts on the occasion of the anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact is attracting heightened attention today. It is reported that up to 100,000 Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian citizens and around 10,000 Polish, Hungarian, and GDR citizens are to take part in the action. What is the state of affairs on the border? Major General G. Bakach, deputy chief of staff of the USSR KGB border troops, now describes it.

"At 1235 on 23 August," Grigoriy Vladimirovich said, "the situation on the border was normal. Citizens were crossing via the 'Lazdiyay' (USSR) to 'Ogrodniki' (Poland) border checkpoint using the simplified procedure stipulated by an intergovernmental agreement. Namely, using USSR citizens' passports and papers provided by social organizations and enterprises. The same applies to Polish citizens. This regulation does not apply to citizens of other countries.

"Yesterday 27 groups totalling 511 people crossed the border into Poland. With the exception of a few people they have returned home. It was reported that what was virtually a division of border troops would greet those people on the border whereas in fact there was a reinforced border detail headed by Lieutenant Colonel Aleksandr Murashov.

"The atmosphere created by our comrades was amicable and there were no complaints or charges of inattentiveness or rudeness. On the contrary, the people who passed through greeted the soldiers.

"Admittedly, the first two groups numbering around 200 people who crossed the border stopped opposite the border post commanded by Senior Lieutenant Mikhail Sobgayda and read out the text of an appeal. There were shouts of 'Down with the KGB!' and 'Death to the KGB!' but our servicemen treated this calmly and with composure and did not yield to provocation."

[Litovkin] How do you regard the present action?

[Bakach] The border troops have never objected and do not object to mass meetings on the border between citizens from the USSR and neighboring states. This is no new event, it has good traditions covered by inter-governmental agreements. And we see no reason why anyone should fuel passions and cause a fuss around them.

"On the eve of the present event, Lt. Gen. V. Gaponenko, chief of the Baltic Border District troops, sent an official letter to K. Prunskiene, chairman of the Lithuanian Council of Ministers, in which he expressed his concern at the proposed events. She shared our concern and promised to take the necessary measures to maintain order. Our border troops did not sit idly by either. They went to labor collectives and social organizations, met with inhabitants of the border region, and explained their position, which was greeted with understanding. I think that all this together ensured efficient working at the checkpoint and made it possible to observe the order that is accepted in the civilized world. I hope that it will continue to be observed in the future."

Destruction of War Memorials in Poland Protested

LD2408095190 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0758 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, 24 Aug (TASS)—Yuliy Kvitsinskiy, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, today handed to E. Lukosz, Polish charge d'affaires in the USSR, a memorandum with the following contents:

"The Soviet public receives with deep concern the reports coming from Poland with regard to the continuing liquidation of monuments to Soviet servicemen who fell during the liberation of the country from Hitlerite occupation. News of the demolition of the monuments to Soviet soldiers in Gdynia, Czestochowa, Bialystok, and in other towns and populated points has caused deep pain in the hearts of Soviet people, especially the relatives of those who died and war veterans.

"We know that the majority of Poles respect the memory of Soviet servicemen buried on Polish territory and that they share our indignation at the acts of vandalism which have taken place. The USSR values highly the measures taken by the leadership of the Polish Republic aimed at preventing instances of irresponsible attitudes to monuments to Soviet servicemen, which are described in the letter sent in reply by President W. Jaruzelski to Marshal

of the Soviet Union, N.V. Ogarkov, chairman of the All-Union Council of Veterans of War, Labor, and the Armed Forces.

"At the same time, the Soviet side is obliged to state with regret that certain forces in Poland are not ceasing their ill-intentioned activity which aims, judging by everything, at effacing from people's consciousness the memory of the liberating mission of the Soviet Union and its Armed Forces, the memory of the joint struggle of the Soviet and Polish peoples against fascism, and of our brotherhood in arms.

"The decision adopted by the Czestochowa authorities to eliminate in the very near future all monuments of gratitude to the Soviet Army on the territory of the Voevodstvo cannot but evoke a protest. In September, it is intended to move the fraternal grave of Soviet soldiers in Zakopane from the center of the town to the town cemetery.

"According to information at hand, the Krakow authorities have already decided the question of demolishing and melting down the monument to Marshal of the Soviet Union I.S. Konev, thanks to whose skilled military leadership the historic and cultural riches of the ancient Polish capital were preserved untouched. The question has also been raised of demolishing the "gratitude" monument, the reinterment of the remains of Soviet servicemen from the central part of Krakow in the communal cemetery.

"The nature and particularly the scale of these blasphemous actions leave no doubt that they are pursuing far-reaching political aims and are contrary to the spirit and the letter of the Soviet-Polish declaration of 13 April, 1990.

"The continuation of the campaign unleashed in Poland over the demolition of monuments to Soviet servicemen cannot but affect the atmosphere of Soviet-Polish relations and practical cooperation between our countries, including cooperation to overcome by joint efforts the dark pages of the past. As is known, the Soviet side carefully looks after Polish monuments on our territory and is cooperative about the creation of new ones.

"We desire the preservation and development of everything that promotes mutual trust and respect between our peoples. But this desire must meet with reciprocity. One would like to hope that the Polish Government will take the appropriate measures to insure an attitude of respect to the memory of the 600,000 Soviet soldiers who gave their lives to liberate Poland, to free the Polish nation from slavery and genocide, and for the rebirth of Poland as an independent state. Here we are not looking toward the past. It is a matter of the future of our relations which must develop positively in the interests of both sides."

New Bulgarian President Zhelev Interviewed

90UF0479A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, by IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Kapralov in Sofia; date not given: "My Ideal Is Democracy"]

[Text] Truly revolutionary changes have occurred in just nine months in Bulgaria, where the power structure, the all-embracing monopolism of one ruling party, was identical to ours, like the lev to the ruble at the official rate of exchange, and where even at the gate to the cowshed could be read: "We will fulfill the plan for the 27th CPSU Congress." And the most striking of these changes is the election of Zhelyu Zhelev, leader of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] and president of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Zhelev corrects me, his presidency is that not of the SDS, the office of head of state is above political predilections. Nonetheless, a fact remains a fact: The ruling party is socialist, the president is from the opposition. Of course, his election is a compromise between Bulgaria's leading political forces dictated by a sense of responsibility for the fate of the nation. Nonetheless, it is seen also as a logical outcome of the power and cohesion of the Union of Democratic Forces, which, having brought together scattered parties and movements, was able to compete as equals almost with the Bulgarian Socialist Party at the elections to the Grand National Assembly.

The British businessman Robert Maxwell, a frequent visitor to Bulgaria, said about Zh. Zhelev that "He is a man with an easy smile, kind heart, and iron will." "Zhelyu!"—not only friends but also millions of Bulgarians address him as their close acquaintance. But I, understandably, address him by the words "Mr. President"....

[Kapralov] What was the first thing you did, Mr. Zhelev, when you came up here, to the third floor of the building of the president's suite, and entered your office? I venture the assumption that you, the former leader of the Union of Democratic Forces and a man who has never figured on the official party schedule, were given a guarded greeting by the old apparatus. In accordance with what principle will you form your "team," and will account be taken of party affiliation here?

[Zhelev] First, the first days following my election I worked in the National Assembly building, where the head of state has an office also. I had to wait until the inhabitants of "Truth City" had folded up their tents which they had put up by the president's suite. They could do this because changes had, you will agree, occurred.... What did I do first? First of all, formed a team. It is necessary that the institution of the presidency not simply issue orders and hand out medals and receive credentials but work actively, within a constitutional framework, of course.

The opinion that the presidency is virtually an institution of the opposition has emerged. This must not be the case. I am prepared to accept everyone, regardless of political and party affiliation, everyone who wishes to work honestly in the name of the country's radical democratization. I am interested in having representatives of all political forces here—strong economists, legal experts, sociologists. Part of the apparatus will inevitably have to be changed. I, for example, could not continue with the former chief of staff....

[Kapralov] And the chief of security?

[Zhelev] The security is general for the president, the Council of Ministers, and the National Assembly. I have changed nothing here, and this matter is not now under discussion.

[Kapralov] The democratic process in our two countries is moving in the same direction, but it is being hampered most, in my opinion, by the continuing ideologization of each political and, primarily, economic decision. The scale of values which took shape in the years of totalitarianism and which continues to be employed at times, like a student's slide rule, by people invested with power and the people's trust has two pluses: socialism with a "plus" sign and capitalism with a "minus" sign. What is important to the people in the grip of such two-dimensional thinking is not the sense of movement, which, it seems to me, is to man's benefit, but the direction—toward capitalism or socialism. So I would like to ask you, although I realize that the question is improper: Where are we headed—toward capitalism or socialism?

[Zhelev] Within the framework of such two-dimensional thinking whatever answer one gives would be simplistic. The very formulation of the question is, as you have said, improper.... First and foremost, the society we are renouncing was never socialist. This is an immense illusion, which, through brain-washing, propaganda was able to drum into people's heads. It was also a capitalist society, but only the most primitive, most undeveloped, most bureaucratic. A police, centralized type of capitalism. Commodity-money relations continued to exist, although they were by various methods hampered by the political superstructure. What we are doing now signifies a transition from undemocratic to democratic capitalism with, I hope, a well-developed system of social protection which mitigates the blows of competition and social inequality, which will inevitably arise.

Although this is unheroic and unromantic, both your perestroika and our democratization are leading from one form of capitalism to another. Here lies the truth. And this transition is happening democratically. Thus to be strictly scientific in our arguments, we are moving within the framework of capitalism. Neither the October Revolution nor others managed to go beyond this framework, although this will happen sometime, but not in Bulgaria or the Soviet Union, alas, but in the United

States or other developed countries, in which a truly new type of social relationships has been created.

I consider the formulation of the question improper also for the fact that it proceeds from the presumption that we have already created one kind of socialism and are now moving toward another. And the official proposition of the Bulgarian Socialist Party concerning democratic socialism does not withstand criticism. However, the socialists are already gradually abandoning their program of democratic socialism and drawing closer to the SDS program.

[Kapralov] Nonetheless, permit me to reassure some IZVESTIYA readers and inform them that your ideology is, as you once said in a television interview, democracy.

[Zhelev] Agreed.

[Kapralov] Then the next question. You know, congratulating journalists on Press Day, Brezhnev once admonished them that the material should be varied in form. It was assumed that the content was taken as read. So in Soviet-Bulgarian relations also. Granted all their diversity, they were for many years ultimately determined by the identity of the political aims of the CPSU-Bulgarian Communist Party. Much is now changing. The "With the Soviet Union for All Time" slogans are no longer being reiterated in Bulgaria, nonetheless, Bulgarians did not, as far as I know, appreciate it when a news clip from Soviet television picked out merely that part of your speech which discussed the priority development of relations with the West....

[Zhelev] I understand you.... Bulgarian-Soviet relations need to be evaluated from the viewpoint of the actual processes occurring both in your country and in our country and in all countries of East Europe. The process of democratization, which began with your perestroika, has been a strong boost to change in East Europe, in Bulgaria particularly, on account of the close ties to the Soviet Union. Even in the Zhivkov times the Soviet press strongly influenced the Bulgarian intelligentsia, not to mention the fact that many people here know Russian. Our traditional relations, I state this categorically and without reservation, have served as an instrument of the democratic process in our country.

Relations of inequality, particularly in the 1950's, when Beriya and Stalin permitted themselves direct command of us, are becoming a thing of the past, and relations of complete candor and sincerity are being established between us, and this is for me a prerequisite not only of good human relations but also good relations between states. Of course, much will depend on how the changes in the Soviet Union itself proceed. I was saying earlier also that Gorbachev's task, referring to the democratic process which he began, is twice as difficult as the task of any other leader in East Europe. In the other countries the changes amount to a dismantling of the totalitarian system in policy, the economy and so forth, but Gorbachev's task is further complicated by the fact that the Soviet Union has an imperial government structure. It is

now collapsing, and this, I believe, will influence our relations in a positive sense.

As far as the economy is concerned, we, closely linked in this sphere with the USSR, may find ourselves in a difficult position as the Soviet economy is democratized and modernized. We will have to conquer the Soviet market. And it will no longer be accepting just any commodities and will be more exacting in respect of product quality. We will have to fight for such a market.

[Kapralov] It has recently been a matter of honor and valor virtually for some of my Bulgarian colleagues to castigate Bulgarian-Soviet economic relations, like the political relations also, incidentally, and write in scornful tone about our leaders. I remember your words to the effect that in Bulgaria Russophiles and Russophobes had always been equally divided. I know that the national dignity of Bulgarians was wounded both by the attempts of tsarist Russia to turn Bulgaria into a trans-Danubian province and the USSR's role as metropolis in relation to the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Nonetheless, there have not in our common history been such black spots as 1956 and 1968. We were brought close together by the blood spilled at Shipka. And the tragedy of Stalinism, it seems to me, is common to both peoples. I do not like the word "anti-Sovietism," it is simpler to talk about lies about the USSR, but with what, for all that, are today's manifestations of anti-Sovietism in Bulgaria connected?

[Zhelev] At one time any criticism of the CPSU was seen as anti-Sovietism and anticommunism. For the Bulgarian these two concepts are closely connected, but they have evolved. There was a time when for an anecdote about Stalin it was possible in our country to find oneself in a camp or to pay with one's life. We have now become accustomed to criticism of communism and treat it as a normal phenomenon. It is not now with us considered an ideological shortcoming to criticize communism as a totalitarian system. Troglodyte anticommunism is something else. I believe that the people who preach it go to the other extreme of totalitarianism—fascism. The true denial of fascist and communist totalitarianism is democracy, and it is incompatible with a brutal attitude toward individual communists. For me anticommunism is a serious matter and means in the political and ideological spheres a willingness to dismantle the entire totalitarian structure created by the Communist Party and the building in its place of a democratic parliamentary system. So up to this time I am an anticommunist, but it has never occurred to me to persecute people for their party allegiance, for their beliefs, and I have never harbored hatred of individual members of the Communist Party. After all, I also believed in these ideas and was in the years of my youth a Stalinist. But on the basis of bitter experience, beginning with Khrushchev's report at the 20th CPSU Congress, the evolution of my views began. And they had, I believe, to change for every honest individual upon contact with actual reality.

As far as anti-Sovietism is concerned, Zhivkov, the principal lackey of Soviet leaders, became, as soon as the

fresh wind of change connected with perestroika reached us from the Soviet Union, the first anti-Soviet and began to play the national card. Soviet influence had become dangerous for him. Generally, when we speak of deformations in our relations, it has to be considered that they were not only a consequence of the policy of the Soviet Union in respect of Bulgaria but primarily a consequence of the policy of a group of our leading figures, who attempted to make capital for themselves from relations with the USSR, and Zhivkov was the spokesman for the interests of this group. It had an interest in the deformations and used relations with the USSR to strengthen its domination in Bulgaria. You know, it reached the point of there having been a plenum which resolved to align Bulgaria with the USSR in 1963 and make it a Soviet republic. This issue subsequently surfaced once again in 1973. But this was merely a parody of close relations, a performance put on for purely domestic purposes, for domestic consumption, I would say. For this reason our propaganda went beyond the bounds of all possible limits in relations between two sovereign states. The Soviet theme was too heavily exploited in our country, and this created only a negative attitude toward the Soviet Union. There was even the anecdote: "What does independent Bulgaria mean? It means that nothing depends on it?" In a word, the ground for anti-Soviet sentiments had been created.

Under the conditions of relations built on the basis of mutual interest and equality these sentiments will pass, their stimulant will disappear, and prerequisites for a strengthening of normal relations between the two states will be created.

[Kapralov] Your election to the office of head of state gave rise to hopes that the opposition would enter a coalition government. However, while still in parliament, you said, answering my question: "No." Has this viewpoint not changed under the pressure of circumstances, bearing in mind the country's serious economic position?

[Zhelev] There are currently no grounds for a coalition government. Were such a government to be formed, it would not solve the problems. It is altogether not a question of the form of government, whether it be a coalition or disguised coalition or provisional government or government of specialists. What is important is the kind of program it implements. Can we unite around one rapidly fulfillable program of land privatization, the denationalization of industry, and the destruction of the last structures of the totalitarian regime—this is the main question. If the government implements a radical program approved by all parliamentary groups, this will be a strong government. We need to quickly put the market economy on its feet, push it forward, through, I believe, agriculture, conduct privatization in the countryside at an accelerated pace, create individual-type farms, and ensure investments in this sector.

I hope that the Consultative Council, which has only just been formed under the institution of the presidency, will

also help formulate the idea concerning the program of the future government. We will also discuss questions of elections to the local authorities, which are to be held before the end of the year. The mandate of the local authorities will expire on 28 August, and meanwhile we intend to form interim organs of administration from the ranks of members of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, the SDS, and the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union. We must reach consensus on the question of the impending elections in order to avoid confrontation.

[Kapralov] The presidency is the pinnacle in the pyramid of state power. How from this elevation do you now see the problems facing the country and the prospects of development of the political situation in Bulgaria? You have said that a difficult winter lies ahead. Difficulties in the economy will evidently intensify, and prices will rise even more. Will not the political sympathies and euphoria in connection with democratization and freedom not give way to baser passions, will so-called Balkan mores not erupt and will a longing for a strong hand not emerge?

[Zhelev] Yes.... In my opinion, the most dangerous thing is the economic crisis. We need to avoid big upheavals and a "Romanian winter," when there was no heating, energy austerity was imposed, and there was no gasoline. Such a situation scares me most because it cannot be called unrealistic. And it will be real unless rush measures are adopted. When I was nominated in the National Assembly, I warned against this danger, but the Bulgarian Socialist Party parliamentary group received my words as an orientation toward a "gentle revolution" virtually. I was warning, however, that unless the Great National Assembly and the political forces which are behind the parliamentary factions are unable to adopt measures for the country's rapid democratization and for securing elementary raw material and energy resources, the population could simply take to the streets and sweep aside both the Bulgarian Socialist Party and the SDS. And when it reaches the point of disturbances, the need for a strong hand will emerge. People will then be saying "welcome" to any dictator who appears on the horizon. This is how it usually happens in history. My main concern, therefore, is whether we will succeed in coping in the time allotted.

[Kapralov] You said in a recent interview that you intend visiting the United States, the USSR, and a number of European countries. People are now guessing: Where will you go first: the United States or the USSR?

[Zhelev] It is difficult for me to say at this point. It will possibly be a third country. Is is not only up to me.

[Kapralov] We know what the life of Zhelyu Zhelev the "dissident," when in exile, was like, what the life of Zhelyu Zhelev the philosopher, writer, and chairman of the SDS Coordinating Council was like. But what changes have occurred in your life since you have become president, I refer to your new apartment, special supplies, in a word, the privileges of high office, which

you have opposed. I did not, incidentally, notice a presidential Mercedes at the entrance.

[Zhelev] On the domestic level nothing has changed. I continue to live in the same apartment and do not intend moving. For receptions there is the residence of the head of state, and dinners or luncheons may be given there in accordance with protocol. I now have the right together with the chairmen of the Council of Ministers and the National Assembly to a special food supply. But I have not availed myself of this privilege and do not intend to. My daughters are now engaged in looking for decent shoes and a suit for the president (he laughs—A.K.), but there is simply nowhere to buy any of this on our market.... What else? Three new telephones have appeared at home. As far as a car is concerned, the head of state is authorized a Mercedes and a further one with protection. I asked that they be replaced by Ladas, but they could not accommodate the equipment. I have therefore kept the Mercedes for official occasions and have opted for a Volga. The only thing that has changed is that a police box has appeared near my home....

Military Pullout From Czechoslovakia on Schedule
LD2308215390 Moscow TASS in English 2141 GMT 23 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Vitaliy Yaroshevskiy]

[Text] Prague August 23 TASS—The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia is proceeding according to schedule, the CTK news agency has reported.

A total of 35,500 troops and more than 19,000 members of their families have left the country.

The Soviet Union has already withdrawn from Czechoslovakia 664 tanks, 976 armoured personnel carriers, a large number of artillery pieces, anti-aircraft armaments, combat aircraft and helicopters.

West Europe

Sitaryan, GDR Minister Discuss Troop Deployment
LD2408085890 Hamburg DPA in German 0637 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—Federal Finance Minister Theo Waigel began talks in Moscow today with Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers Stepan Sitaryan. The talks will focus on the financial aspects of the stationing of Soviet troops on the territory of the present GDR. Tomorrow Federal Economics Minister Helmut Haussmann will be holding talks in Moscow on extensive German economic assistance for the USSR.

Waigel arrived in Moscow during the night. He is accompanied by a group of officials of the federal foreign ministry, who will be negotiating on the future status of the Soviet troops in a united Germany.

Finland Extradites Aeroflot Hijacker 23 Aug

LD2308104890 Moscow TASS in English 1026 GMT 23 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Voitto Leskinen]

[Text] Helsinki August 23 TASS—The Soviet man who hijacked an Aeroflot plane to Finland on June 24 returned to the USSR today.

Mikhail Varfolomeyev was driven in a special police vehicle to checkpoint Valima on the Finnish-Soviet border at 10:08 local time and handed over to Soviet officials.

Finland's law enforcement and state bodies described Varfolomeyev's actions as a very serious crime undermining the safety of air transportation, and called for a thorough investigation.

The Finnish Interior Ministry rejected Varfolomeyev's application for political asylum in Finland and refused to recognize him as a victim of political persecution in the Soviet Union.

His case was then examined by the Finnish Supreme Court, which confirmed the legitimacy of Soviet demands for his extradition.

In keeping with existing regulations, the Justice Ministry had the final say. On August 20, Justice Minister Tarja Halonen announced the decision to hand the hijacker back to Soviet authorities.

The Finnish press and public opinion support this decision. The KANSAN UUTiset newspaper stressed that the decision was fair.

Helsingin Sanomat observed that "the decision to extradite Varfolomeyev corresponds to international regulations concerning the struggle against hijacking and to Soviet-Finnish agreements on joint measures for combating air terrorism, which envisage the reciprocal extradition of hijackers".

Estonian Prime Minister, Danish Counterpart Meet

LD2208211690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1250 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Copenhagen, 22 August (TASS)—TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Kiselev reports:

Estonian Prime Minister E. Savisaar arrived here today for a working visit at the invitation of Danish Prime Minister P. Schlueter. The program for the visit includes meetings with the head of the Danish Government, other ministers, the speaker of the Folketing, and representatives of parliamentary parties and businessmen.

At a news conference held at the Danish prime minister's office, E. Savisaar stressed that the main purpose of his visit is to restore political and economic links which used to exist between Denmark and Estonia. At the same time he noted that as the republic embarks on talks with the

central government, it intends to establish direct ties with individual Soviet republics and to develop all-round relations with them. But he said that as Estonia recovers its independence, the "door to the east" must at the same time remain open.

Nishanov Meets With Danish Parliamentarians

*PM2308085590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
22 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Soviet-Danish interparliamentary contacts are acquiring particular significance now during the implementation of innovative transformations in all spheres of the life of Soviet socialist society. This was mentioned 20 August during a conversation between R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, and a delegation from the Danish

Folketing Environmental Conservation and Planning Committee and the Agriculture and Fisheries Committee.

CPSU's Yanayev Meets With Belgian Socialists

*PM2408115190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 Aug 90 Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "Meeting With Belgian Socialists"]

[Text] On 22 August, G.I. Yanayev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met with F. Vandenbroek, chairman of the (Flemish) Belgian Socialist Party, and D. Dreyboms [name as transliterated], Belgian Socialist Party secretary for international affairs. The Belgian socialists were briefed on topical problems in the country's socioeconomic and political development and the CPSU's role and practical activity in the conditions of Soviet society's radical transformation. A mutual desire to deepen contacts between the CPSU and the Belgian Socialist Party was expressed.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Annuls RSFSR Decision on Resources

'Text' of Gorbachev Decree

LD2308191290 Moscow TASS in English 1850 GMT
23 Aug 90

["Gorbachev Overrules Russian Parliament Decree—Full Text"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev issued the following decree here today:

"Apropos of the resolution by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the R.S.F.S.R. of August 9, 1990.

"The Presidium of the R.S.F.S.R. Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution 'On the Protection of the Economic Basis of the Sovereignty of the R.S.F.S.R.'.

"That document declared foreign economic and Union-republican agreements to sell a number of goods invalid and attempted to give the republican council of ministers control over the nation's foreign-currency-earning gold reserves and other strategic resources.

"The aforementioned decision cited such an important political document as the declaration of the state sovereignty of the R.S.F.S.R. but the powers and property of the Union and republics can only be delimited on the basis of a new Union treaty.

"It is currently being prepared, and the provisions of the existing Constitution and laws of the U.S.S.R., in accordance with which foreign economic activities are pursued at present, should certainly be fulfilled pending its conclusion.

"The decision by the Presidium of the R.S.F.S.R. Supreme Soviet can cause serious damage to the country's interests, by complicating possibilities to buy goods and win credits, which are needed so badly amid current economic difficulties.

"It is effectively directed at undermining the economic sovereignty of other Union republics since it usurps the right to manage products belonging to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

"The aforementioned decision is a legally unsubstantiated attempt to interfere in current economic activities by trade-and-industry organisations, and limits possibilities to democratise production and management and the rights of enterprises to set up joint-stock societies, concerns and associations.

"I decree hereby:

"1. Pursuant to Paragraph 1 of clause 127/3/ of the U.S.S.R. Constitution, to declare legally invalid the resolution by the Presidium of the R.S.F.S.R. Supreme Soviet of August 9, 1990.

"2. To bind the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, jointly with the governments of Union republics, to work out, within a month, proposals on procedures for distributing foreign-currency revenue from foreign economic transactions, with a view to ensuring the motivation of enterprises and the observance of local, republican and federal interests.

"3. To make it known to foreign partners that the foreign economic contracts signed by the Soviet Union will be fulfilled unswervingly.

"Signed: M. Gorbachev
President
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
"The Kremlin, Moscow
"August 23, 1990."

Moscow TV Views Decree

LD2308174990 Moscow Television Service
in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The USSR president has signed a decree on the decision by the Presidium of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet of 9 August, 1990:

The Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet adopted a decision on the protection of the economic foundations of the RSFSR's sovereignty. That document declares invalid foreign economic and Union-republican agreements on the sale of a number of commodities, and attempts to place under the control of the republic's Council of Ministers the country's gold-currency reserves and other strategic resources. The decision refers to the important political document entitled "The Declaration of State Sovereignty of the RSFSR," but the demarcation of powers and property between the Union and the republics may only be carried out on the basis of a new Union treaty. At present this treaty is being drafted, and until it is concluded there must be unconditional adherence to the provisions of the existing USSR Constitution and laws, under which foreign economic activities are now being conducted.

The decision by the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet may cause serious damage to the country's interests by complicating opportunities for purchasing commodities and obtaining credits, which are so essential in conditions of the present economic difficulties. In fact, it is aimed at undermining the economic sovereignty of the other Union republics, since it usurps the right to administer products belonging to the USSR. The decision is a legally unfounded attempt to interfere in the current business activities of trade and industrial organizations and limits opportunities for developing processes of democratization of production management and the rights of enterprises to set up joint-stock societies, concerns, and associations.

The president has decided to declare the above decision by the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet of 9 August, 1990 devoid of legal force. The USSR Council of Ministers, together with the governments of the Union republics, are instructed to draw up within one month proposals on a procedure for distributing hard currency earnings from foreign economic operations with the aim of ensuring an interest on the part of enterprises and of observing local, republican, and Union interests. Third [as heard] foreign partners are to be informed that foreign economic deals concluded with the Soviet Union will be rigorously fulfilled.

[Signed] President of the USSR, Gorbachev.

Yeltsin Calls Decree 'Mistake'

LD2408135890 Moscow World Service in English
1300 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Boris Yeltsin has described as a mistake President Mikhail Gorbachev's decree overruling the decision of Russia's Parliament to safeguard the economic foundation of that republic's sovereignty.

INTERFAX reports that the Russian Parliament's leader, Boris Yeltsin, has made the statement in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, a Soviet Far East port, as part of his tour of that republic.

Yeltsin said that this was merely an attempt by the president to encroach on Russia's sovereignty. He pointed out that the president had the right to overrule the decision of Russia's parliament since it was not a parliamentary law.

Mr. Yeltsin spoke in favor of a parliamentary commission to be set up to examine the problem of shipping gold from Russia, to find out how much has been shipped, where, and for what purposes.

He reported that he's been regularly talking by telephone with Mikhail Gorbachev but it was not simple to come to terms. By yesterday's decree, Mr. Yeltsin emphasized, the president has again pushed me by half a step backward, considering that I've taken a step toward him, he added.

Gorbachev Issues Decree on Academy of Sciences

LD2308190990 Moscow TASS in English 1832 GMT
23 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev today issued a decree granting broad self-administration rights to the National Academy of Sciences.

The decree explains the decision by "profound changes in the country, which require the creation of conditions for free and fruitful scientific creation and the wide and unimpeded use of scientific knowledge in the areas of technology, education and culture."

The decree declared the academy an "all-Union self-administered organization."

"It functions on the basis of Soviet laws and the academy's charter, without any interference from state and other structures, independently ensuring the effective work of institutes, laboratories and other units in the area of fundamental scientific research and the training of scientific personnel," the decree says.

Under the decree, the academy will own the fixed assets and other state property that is now at the disposal of institutes, laboratories, enterprises and organizations of the academy.

Simultaneously, the decree preserves the project-oriented state financing of the academy's fundamental scientific research from the federal budget.

Decree on Academy Detailed

LD2308214590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 23 Aug 90

["Decree of the President of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Status of the USSR Academy of Sciences"]

[Text] The USSR Academy of Sciences is one of the country's major scientific institutions. The best scientific forces, scientists with world-famous names, and talented youth are concentrated in its institutes and laboratories. They determine by their work the level of basic research in the country and make a worthy contribution to the development of world science.

The deep transformations taking place in the country demand the creation of conditions for free and fruitful scientific creative work, the broad and unhindered use of scientific knowledge in the sphere of equipment and technology, education, and culture in all spheres of people's creative activity. These tasks should be resolved on the basis of the consistent democratization and decentralization of the system of administration, the denationalization of property, the granting to the institutes and laboratories of the USSR Academy of Sciences broad rights in organizing their activity. At the same time, as world experience has shown, the scale and efficiency of basic research is determined in many ways by the reliable and growing material and financial support on the part of the state and the realization of measures furthering the enhancement of the prestige of members of the academy and of all scientists in society.

To create favorable conditions for the further development of basic sciences and the preservation and strengthening of the intellectual potential of soviet society, I decide:

First, to establish that the USSR Academy of Sciences is an all-Union self-administered organization. It operates on the basis of the laws of the USSR and the charter of the academy without any interference whatsoever of state and other structures, independently guaranteeing

the efficient work of institutes, laboratories, and other subdepartments in the sphere of basic scientific research and the training of scientific cadres.

Second, to transfer the fixed capital assets and other state property that is currently in the use of the institutes, laboratories, enterprises, and organizations of the USSR Academy of Sciences into its exclusive ownership and define the status of the latter in accordance with Articles 10 and 17 of the USSR Law on Ownership in the USSR.

Third, to preserve in future the special purpose financing for the basic scientific research work of the USSR Academy of Sciences from the all-Union state budget, keeping in mind that the USSR Academy of Sciences hands over the results of this research work to the state free of charge, while observing the norms of copyright and patent.

Fourth, to establish that the USSR Academy of Sciences, its organizations and establishments must closely interact with the academies of sciences of the union republics on a contractual basis and seek to achieve through joint effort an increase in the general level of basic research in the country.

Organization of wide international links through setting up joint scientific organizations and centers and through exchanging scientists and using other forms of modern international scientific cooperation is to be considered one of the main tasks of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Fifth, the USSR Council of Ministers is instructed within a month to adopt a decision that will implement this decree; the decision should provide for:

A list, procedure and timetable for the transfer of state property which is used by the USSR Academy of Sciences into its exclusive ownership;

A procedure and timetable for forming the all-Union state budget fund for basic research and for confirming its clauses;

An increase in the soviet budget appropriations for the improvement of the material provision for scientific workers in the system of the USSR Academy of Sciences, including the revision of existing salaries and wages;

The granting of the right to the USSR Academy of Sciences and its organizations to form special funds from their resources for solving social issues;

The introduction at the USSR Academy of Sciences of a contractual system of offering employment to staff, including foreign scientists, while granting the right to set rates of pay independently to pay those working on a contractual basis and also sending the scientists of the USSR Academy of Sciences to work in international scientific organizations and laboratories on a contractual basis.

[Signed] Gorbachev, president of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

RSFSR 'Leader' Criticizes Two Gorbachev Decrees

LD2408105890 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0940 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, 24 Aug (TASS) Lev Aksenov, TASS parliamentary correspondent, reports from the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] House of Soviets:

A leader of the Russian Federation parliament described yesterday's decree by Mikhail Gorbachev as "exceeding the president's competence". The decree deemed the decision of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet "On Protecting the Economic Foundations of RSFSR Sovereignty" to be legally invalid.

The Russian parliament's decision declared invalid the foreign economic and Union-republic agreements on the sale of a number of goods and attempted to bring under the control of the republic government's USSR gold and currency reserves, and other strategic reserves extracted and produced on its territory.

"I think that the Russian Supreme Soviet will not agree with this presidential decree," Vladimir Isakov, member of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, told the TASS correspondent today.

In his view, the adoption of the decree deeming invalid an act of a constitutional body of a Union republic without consulting the Committee for Constitutional Supervision is, in essence, an individual decision.

Vladimir Isakov also commented on the decree of the status of the Union Academy of Sciences, which was published at the same time. The president's decision on transferring all the state property used by the institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences over to the academy, he stressed, was adopted at the very moment when a Russian Academy of Sciences is to be set up, and naturally the issue of dividing property between the Union and the Russian academies will be raised.

"This step, no doubt, will make the establishment of a Russian Academy of Sciences more difficult," Vladimir Isakov said. "This can be perceived only as a one-sided and unbalanced step," he stressed.

Moscow TV Interviews Gorbachev on Economic Issues

LD2308215490 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1742 GMT 23 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Our correspondents just arrived back from the Kremlin. A meeting was held there today between USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers. At the conference there was a detailed discussion, in a creative and businesslike atmosphere, on the program for the country's transition to the market and the development of the country's economy in 1991. [video shows Gorbachev chairing the meeting, which is

attended by Ryzhkov, Abalkin, Maslyukov and others] After the meeting in the Kremlin, an interview for the "Vremya" program. [begin recording] [video shows Gorbachev seated at a table, flanked by Abalkin and academicians, including Shatalin on his immediate left, who are introduced later; an unidentified correspondent interviews Gorbachev]

[Correspondent] This meeting was on problems of economic reform. Perhaps you could tell our viewers about the details of the meeting?

[Gorbachev] You know, I think I will start with yesterday, my first working day after returning to Moscow from the Crimea—although I had a peculiar holiday this year. The comrades who are present here did not actually allow me to get away from it all! Well, frankly speaking, the times really are such that it was difficult to find the time. Nevertheless, everything is fine.

Yesterday I met a group of comrades, headed by Academician Shatalin, the group which Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, Comrade Silayev, and I set up. It includes Academician Abalkin. It also includes my assistant Petrakov, and a large group of specialists, professional economists. I spent six hours talking to them yesterday in order to obtain detailed information on what work has been done. You will know that the group has been given instructions based on all the drafts and all the discussions and proposals. And there are a very great number of proposals, because the problem of adopting the market affects the whole of society and the entire country. And it is a very considerable turning-point in our society's development. It is not just the latest campaign, it is not a sowing drive or a harvest effort. No, the crops that are being sown must put out shoots and yield fruits which we shall be using for many years of our life and our society's life to come. So it is a crucial threshold, a turning-point. So yesterday morning, I launched straight in and started listening, and we broke up in the evening.

You know, in general, I am satisfied with our conversation yesterday. There has been enormous progress. I will not say that they have already completed work. No. But, although I have maintained constant contact with the group, yesterday I succeeded in examining the situation problem by problem in expanded form, and I came to the optimistic conclusion that we will have a single program on the move toward a market economy, which is vital. I like both the project and the approaches to its resolution, although I should say that I did not avoid telling the comrades about weak points. Certain matters must be worked through; (?more thoroughly) I particularly like the fact that in this program, as it is already taking shape, an approach is being defined and put into practice which will be accepted and supported by our society, it seems to me. I mean that we must approach a market economy through stabilization of our situation in the economy, in the market, and in finance for several months, in order that the introduction of market elements proceeds against a background of a certain stabilization.

Then we can avoid acute situations, very painful situations; though I will not say it will be a simple process. And no one should imagine it will be. We must all understand that we are making a tremendous but useful and necessary effort, all of us, so that we may achieve the aims we have set ourselves, in order to attain a better life and better prosperity for the people. This is what impresses me. And so this, I think, will enable us to avoid, you know, such sharp jumps in prices. Because by the time of the introduction of market elements, the market will have been stabilized to some degree, and much will already have been done to ensure that those who enter that market will be a new cast of characters. New subjects of the market, as it were. Through the development of business and the expansion of the economic independence of the enterprise, and on the basis of the abolition of state controls, we will generally open up initiative and paths to the development of the productive, labor initiative of the people. In general, it will be a complex, integrated process, and a good foundation, that is how I assess it—I look to the colleagues who are directly involved in this, they evidently do not object—for us to be able, later, after finalizing it, to propose it with confidence.

Inasmuch as the government, after a hearing on the transition to a market economy at the Supreme Soviet session this spring, has an instruction to prepare this proposal for the Supreme Soviet, today I found it necessary, immediately on the day following my return, to meet with the Council of Ministers Presidium. Such was the request of the chairman of the government and of all presidium members. We have been conducting a conversation on these matters. I think that on the basis of two days' work, including today's conversation, I can say that great progress toward a meeting of minds is apparent among us, both regarding the government, the republics, scientific circles, specialists, and the public, in understanding both the need for the market and the most rational ways of moving toward it. Yesterday's and today's conversation may give us the opportunity to precisely determine the stages of action. This makes it possible, and all the republics and production collectives are insisting on this, to do everything right now, without putting things off, to prevent a breakdown in the economy. It is now possible to prevent a disruption of economic ties, to think out a joint pooling of efforts so that all these very complicated tasks on the way to the market, which fall in this quarter and in the fourth quarter, at the end of this year—and not only in the first half but virtually the whole of 1991—so that all this can, must be tied together in practical work. [This would] prepare for normal and more or less stable and confident work by production collectives, work connected with the implementation of preliminary moves toward the market and the first steps toward the market.

This is a very complex question, and it probably still requires repeated discussion. As a result of the discussions so far, we have agreed that a joint meeting of the Presidential Council and the Council of the Federation

will be held shortly, within a week at the most. Obviously the commissions of scientists will also be invited. We will probably also have to invite the leaders, representatives of autonomous formations, since they are asserting their right to take part in the discussion of these fundamentally and vitally important questions. Otherwise we will not be understood.

So during those two days we did some thorough work. It is important that we are seeking these approaches. I believe that during these coming days I will have talks and contacts with the leaders of the republics. Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin and I agreed (?the other day) to sit down in an unhurried atmosphere and study and compare all our points of view on the processes. Our aim is to bring our approaches and understanding of things as close as possible. I think there is a basis for this. Take the fact that representatives of Russia are taking part in the work of Academician Shatalin's group, and that Russia is fairly well represented there. These are very competent people, working [words indistinct]—I will tell you in a minute. They are energetic people. But the thing I would like to stress once again is that representatives of the republics are also already taking an active part—on a permanent basis, I can tell you—in work associated with this, in the preparation of this program for the switch to the market.

And in effect, the groups linked with the government, and with Gosplan and so on, their work is proceeding in just the same way. [Words indistinct] and the government, so to speak, (?all this) creates a basis. Well, and I also want to talk with the leaders of the republics on the eve of the session of the Presidential Council and the Federation Council by way of [words indistinct].

In general we are on the threshold—as I have said more than once—of great decisions, and now in general we must all do some work on them. And I hope that we shall have something to say to our people, and I do not want to anticipate now, but I am confident that we, on the basis of what we will propose, will have the people's support and assent, and must act now in the way that is characteristic of our nation, which loves its soil and its country, and which, when necessary, does everything by casting aside personal ambitions and all secondary things and concentrates on the main thing. And the main thing now is the transition to the market and the revival of new fundamentally renewed principles of the union of the states, of our multinational state.

[Abalkin] The whole nation is now awaiting the transition to the market with great hopes, and [words indistinct] alarm. But since your latest meetings and conversations, the hopes have begun to predominate.

[Gorbachev] Well, I have tried to answer that question. I think that the work which has been done by our comrades of late—they are constantly in touch with society. They are working under pressure from public opinion. But, nevertheless, they are not letting themselves be dragged along by sentiment. They have been working

well and, in spite of the difficulties, placing the interests of people above everything else. And, in this connection, they have been trying to make sure too that during the acute transitional stage—and the acute stage will last one-and-a-half, two years...

[Abalkin] [interrupting] That is precisely right.

[Gorbachev] Yes. Subsequently the market will develop, gather momentum and be enriched with new forms of economic life. This path is always a fairly long one. A new economic space is being created. But, all the same, the work that the comrades have done here makes me hopeful that we will be able to pass through this very important stage in the development of our society with as few losses as possible, as painlessly as possible.

[Correspondent] Thank you.

[Shatalin] May I [words indistinct]?

[Gorbachev] If it is not a critical one! [laughs]

[Shatalin] On sovereignty. That is good. That is, the republics, krays, oblasts, rayons, streets and so on, all must understand that the main sovereignty is the sovereignty of the individual. If it is comprehended in the correct manner, then I do not doubt that all groups of our society will come to agreement. [end recording]

[Announcer] Well-known Soviet scholars, economists, and politicians have expressed their opinion on the decrees signed by the USSR president.

[Abalkin] I would like to first of all introduce to you the academics present here. Stanislav Sergeyevich Shatalin [points to his left] Nikolay Pavlovich Laverov [points to his right], and Stepan Romanovich Sitalyan [points to his far right]. We have appeared in the studio for the reason that today the president has signed a very important decree concerning the vitality of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the decree on the status of the Academy of Sciences. This is a fundamentally new page in the history of the academy. It proceeds according to the course of those processes which are proceeding today in society—the processes of the democratization of administration, the equality, the de-statification of property, the development of initiative and creativity, moreover, in exceedingly profound and important articles on spheres such as the sphere of scholarly creativity; a complex, difficult, but extremely strategically important sphere of activity for society.

The new status of the academy has been defined by the decree. It is defined, that is, the academy, is defined as an all-Union, self-governing organization. It is envisioned that interference by the state and any other structures is not admitted in the academy's activity. It acts only on the basis of the laws of the USSR and its Constitution.

The sphere of free creativity, independence, the free search for truth and scientific solutions, so important for the national economy, is being opened up. By this same

decree the property of institutes, laboratories, enterprises and scientific centers of the USSR Academy of Sciences is being made its exclusive property. A number of conditions are envisioned, which will change the order of work, inter alia. The academy will carry out research on major fundamental areas. It will put its results free of charge at the disposal of the state.

The USSR Government has been charged with adopting specific decisions concerning getting material provisions for the members of the academy and living and everyday conditions, salaries. This will be done, despite the quite complex economic and financial situation in the country.

[Sitalyan] The money will be well invested!

[Abalkin] The money will be well invested in the academy.

[Laverov] Well, I would like to add a couple of words, just on the fact that for the first time in the practice of state bodies this time a presidential decree foresees the financing of fundamental research from a fund for fundamental research. That is, from a special fund which is being set up for the first time in our country to, well, as it were, ensure completely real non-interference by state bodies with that finance which is for fundamental research. This is an exceptionally important measure.

Well, and I think that the provision, the charge to the Council of Ministers to prepare a measure which is directed, as it were, so that our specialists do not escape abroad, is very important. This is an exceedingly important matter.

[Sitalyan] Here one can talk about the new attitude of the Academy of Sciences toward the problems of the development of international relations. Broad opportunities for international scholarly creativity, for cooperation, for the use of modern forms of scientific and technical cooperation are being presented. It seems to us that here very extensive opportunities are provided for development of this field of activity of the Academy of Sciences.

[Abalkin] I want to say that today another presidential decree has been signed. It concerns the 9 August 1990 decision of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet presidium. This publicly quite well-known decision, as it is, you know, suspended or abrogated a number of actions of the Soviet Government in the sphere of foreign economic relations. The right of the republic to suspend and abrogate such decisions was declared and, in essence, to assume for themselves those competences which today the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics possesses.

This included deals on foreign economic operations for the sale of gold and diamonds. Certain restrictions on the rights of enterprises to the independent creation of joint-stock societies and other modern structures were imposed. The president of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, according to his post, is obliged to guard the Constitution of the USSR and its laws, democratic

rights, and the democratic processes in general taking place in the country. Having carefully examined the documents adopted, the president considered it necessary to declare the indicated decisions of the presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet of 9 August as without juridical force. The USSR Government, together with the governments of the Union republics, are charged within a given time with developing specific proposals on the use of hard currency income to, above all, ensure the interest of enterprises and local bodies, republican and Union interests. It has been made clear to foreign partners that the foreign economic deals concluded with the Soviet Union will be fulfilled to the letter.

Presidential Aide Interviewed on Market Economy

PM2308120690 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 33, 26 Aug-2 Sep 90 p 10

[Interview with Presidential aide and economist Nikolay Petrakov by Oleg Poptsov; place and date not given: "The Crossroads of Hope"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Presidential aide and economist Nikolay Petrakov recently spoke to MN's Oleg Poptsov about agreement reached between Yeltsin and Gorbachev about the transition to a market economy.

MN: The idea is to combine Yeltsin's "500-Day" plan and the government's programme. Isn't this an attempt to combine the uncombinable?

N.P.: A very important step has been made in the political and economic fields. An expert commission has been authorized to formulate the economic foundation of a union treaty within 30 days. Their programme must be businesslike and deideologized, and must ensure that the transition to a market economy is accomplished with minimum losses.

The main problem is that all our Republics are very closely connected economically: up to 20-30 per cent of the output produced in one Republic is delivered to others. If the country were divided into several republican markets, this would mean reproducing the situation which has existed for years within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) framework. It would also mean having several national currencies, all inconvertible. This will play havoc to a single banking system. The point is not who feeds whom or what kind of a balance they have. What is important is that this is a real economic system, and its destruction will not bring about anything good. Economic integration is an imperative, as the experience of Western Europe proves.

Our economy is ineffective not because it is on an all-Union scale, but because it is not a market economy. To build a market on the scale of an individual republic or region means to throw ourselves far back economically. The disintegrating monetary system and the weak rouble have only added fuel to the fire. On the other hand, stabilization and the "recovery" of the rouble

would prompt integrationist trends. A national currency means escaping from the disintegrating all-Union monetary system into a subsistence economy. It is a gesture of despair. Belorussia and Estonia will buy oil, but how will they pay for it? With karbovantsi [Ukrainian name for rubles], Estonian crowns or lats [Latvian monetary unit used from 1922-1940]? We don't need them. We need roubles, which they are going to abolish. Nor do they have convertible currency. What will begin is absolute barter, commodity-for-commodity exchange, a return to the "primitive" state instead of normal economic relations.

What might have happened this September if Yeltsin and Gorbachev hadn't reached an agreement now on trying to create a coordinated economic programme? The sessions of two Supreme Soviets—those of the Soviet Union and Russia—open almost simultaneously, and they would have started discussing utterly different economic programmes. The point is not which is better. They are different. So what is to be done? What we get is a stalemate. That is why it is crucial now to pool our ideas, to absorb the entire potential which has already been created.

MN: Aren't commodities the soul of the market?

N.P.: Yes and no. The soul of the market is competition. It is nonsense to introduce free prices in the absence of competition. If we have a monopoly, then fixed prices are even worse than state regulation.

The most important thing today is to set the stage for competition, demonopolization, deconcentration and privatization. Incidentally, we say that we have no competition. This is wrong. It exists—only it has been turned upside down: when we line up in queues for commodities, we compete with one another; we, customers, compete for goods instead of producers competing for our roubles.

MN: But the price reform, about which Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov spoke, and the market are not the same thing. A society, which is approaching the market like an unknown continent, cannot endure a two-in-one blow: cognition of the market plus the shock caused by sharply soaring prices. This may provoke hostility towards the idea of the market.

N.P.: Right you are. The government's programme caused panic. It was constructed incorrectly in psychological terms.

After all, we have not lived under a market. What we do know is the "black" market. But in actual fact it is not a market, it is a monopoly, and it owes its existence to scarcities. The "black" market does not want to develop production or increase the quantity of goods, since the fewer the goods the higher the price. It is a market that seizes the customer by the throat. The same applies to cooperatives. And to say that the shadow economy and the "black" market amount to the market relations from which we must proceed is absurd.

MN: The man in the street evidently sees things differently than the government. You say that the psychological moment had its effect. But is the government so short-sighted? What then can we expect of such a government?

N.P.: I don't want to criticize the government, especially since I have already done so on more than one occasion. Given the new commission, we are all in the same boat now.

For decades the state has defended the producer against the customer when it should have defended the customer against the producer, and provided conditions for honest competition and protected people with low incomes. In fact the state says: "We shall give you compensation, we shall defend you." What against? Against higher prices. But who fixes these higher prices?

The state. It tells the people: "We shall defend you against us." However, the state ought to have said something entirely different: "We shall no longer fix the prices of millions of items. We can't do this and we don't want to do this. But inasmuch as prices will rise we will support people with low incomes by assuming control over the most basic commodities, food, clothing, etc."

MN: One can protect the customer's interests when there is equality and competitiveness among all forms of property.

N.P.: Yes, of course. We must establish the legal equality of all forms of property. Because when we discriminate against private property, we get into a logical trap. Even the staunchest advocates of socialism admit that state property cannot win in an honest struggle.

MN: Ideological blindness. If only the authorities, societies...

N.P.: Yes, that's right, but we have no other society. Now they say: exploitation... According to Marx, exploitation means the appropriation of the surplus value not created by you. It means that exploitation by the state can exist. But why then can there be no exploitation of the private individual? I am facing a dilemma: either I get the whole of the surplus product and then there is no exploitation, or any deletion of the surplus product can be assessed as exploitation. In that case, an invalid exploits workers because he doesn't create any surplus product and lives on welfare. Here we come to the point of absurdity. Incidentally, the rate of exploitation in the Soviet Union, according to our economists, is now much higher than it is in Western countries.

We have been scared by the horrors of the market. But losses vary. To dismiss a person who works at an enterprise making unnecessary products—what is it: a loss, a violation of social justice? Why do we believe that it is fair to produce TV sets that blow up and to receive not only wages but even bonuses in exchange?

By swapping his job at an office where he doesn't produce anything useful a person adds to our common "pie" and will himself earn considerably more.

We must activate our money. For instance, Artem Tarasov claims he can make 10,000 dollars out of 100 roubles. If we permit this, we shall get these 10,000 dollars or at least 5,000 dollars. Out of 100 roubles! Those same "boxes" of frozen construction projects—if we auction them to enterprises, cooperatives or Western firms—can bring an immense profit. Otherwise they will stand for another 15 years and we shall get nothing.

MN: Economist Nikolay Shmelev recently said that the government's programme is bad, but if it is combined with alternative ideas it will be only half bad. But will those two flows of experts—the emergency team and "people of the alternative"—intersect?

N.P.: We intend to take everything into account. The aim of this group is not to miss anything that is interesting and healthy. But this will not be an eclectic programme. The authors are practically of a single mind, so the debates will hinge on specific mechanisms of switching to the market, the sequence of this transition, and the improvement of the financial system. There have been many proposals from Western economists as well.

MN: How sensible, realistic and honest do you consider the invitation of Western economists in the capacity of experts? Aren't you alerted by those endless cries: "leave us alone"? What are we afraid of: alien banners, capitalism or our own ignorance? In Kaluga they built a factory based on an Italian design, the idea being to manufacture quality footwear, but the result was home-made galoshes. We are hindered by our perpetual megalomania, our airs and graces. Remember the arrival of Nobel Laureate Leontieff. Like other Western economists, he was unable to make himself heard at our government's door. Incomprehensible? We are at the bottom of an abyss and still insist: "The people will not understand." The people will understand and appreciate. If only there were something to be appreciated.

N.P.: There is nothing humiliating or prejudicial in taking advantage of the proposals of Western experts. They have had experience in extricating other countries from crises. But not all Western experts know the social situation in the USSR. The groups must be mixed because there are some measures which are natural for people with the market-type mentality (in Poland the market mentality was not blotted out even during the years of socialism), but we have a different society, the market mentality has been obliterated. As for the Kaluga factory, Western specialists are simply indispensable, for we must not only obtain credit, but also consult on how to use this credit. Western creditors want their money back with interest. They will not allow this money to become lost. Credits are primarily needed not to purchase plants and equipment, but to set up joint ventures. Modern technology also calls for modern culture, which

we do not have. Now we build a footwear factory, buy machine tools, but we assemble them only the devil knows how... Sometimes it's just money thrown to the wind. What has happened to the Volzhskiy Motor Works? The equipment is worn out, and we continue making 1968-model Fiat cars. Why? Because it's not a joint venture. That footwear factory is now making galoshes, but six or seven years from now it won't be able to make even galoshes, and then we'll need to buy another factory. What for? If we were a joint venture, there would be a permanent supply of the latest technology, for the Western partner would not be interested with old equipment. This is how we should look at joint ventures, instead of crying: "Help, we're being enslaved."

MN: The expert commission is about to start work. Do you believe in the success of joint efforts? Especially given the time limit of 30 days?

N.P.: There's no alternative. There are many new people on Yeltsin's "team". I know them as serious economists... I cannot promise anything. But we will work—and work with all our might.

Ryzhkov Visits Market Transition Group on Treaty

PM2308131590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
22 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by Mikhail Berger: "Working Meeting"]

[Text] On 21 August N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, visited a working group for the preparation of a concept for the program for the transition to the market as part of a Union-wide [obshchесоюзный] treaty—a group created under the auspices of USSR President M. Gorbachev and B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet. There was a discussion of two different approaches toward the program for the transition to the market.

Solzhenitsyn Calls Visit 'Inconceivable'

PM240000190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 90 p 1

["From A. Solzhenitsyn to I. Silayev"—KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA headline]

[Text] The KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondents' office in New York received a telephone call from Natalya Dmitriyevna Solzhenitsyna. She conveyed the writer's statement for the Soviet press. [statement follows]

Moscow. To I.S. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers. 23 August 1990.

Esteemed Ivan Stepanovich!

I have learned from the press of your open letter to me, which I did not actually receive.

Thank you for the invitation to be your guest.

But it is inconceivable for me to be a guest or tourist in my homeland—to come and go. When I return home it will be to live and die there. I believed I would return even during my most hopeless years.

Our country's troubles are mine always. I have just completed an article giving (as far as is possible and as far as I can be aware from outside) my ideas about the current state of the country and the possible measures that need to be taken, as I see it. But I do not know whether paper can be found in the USSR to publish this brochure cheaply for mass circulation.

I add this rider because you stated that my "words have now even reached our motherland." By no means. They are desperately impeded. "The Gulag Archipelago"—a book about the sufferings of millions—is sold only for hard currency in hotels for tourists or "Berezka" stores. Is this an insult? There is no way for ordinary people to get hold of my books even in Moscow, let alone in the vast expanse that is Russia. The journal NOVYY MIR, the main journal where I was published, has been suppressed. There is no way of knowing just when "The Red Wheel"—the book about the 1917 revolution on which I have been working for half a century—will be available to readers.

But I cannot leave my books behind. Having been slandered for decades I must first and foremost become understood by my fellow countrymen—and not just in the capital, but in the provinces and the furthest corners of the country.

The time has also come to wipe away the slander attaching to the Russian Social Foundation, which I set up with the royalties from "The Gulag Archipelago." The convictions against its staffers should be quashed and all traces of the prosecution against them expunged. The foundation itself should be legalized, at least in the RSFSR, so that it can operate and provide help quite openly.

Thank you for your warm words of sympathy.
Respectfully,
A. Solzhenitsyn

Details on Privileges for Victims of Stalinism

LD2408103690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0900 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] The Moscow City Soviet has instituted a number of privileges for the victims of Stalinist repressions. They include registration with food stores for receiving food orders for everyday and holiday consumption; registration with the veteran store for acquiring industrial goods for personal use; free travel on urban transport, apart from taxis; the right to treatment in the departmental clinics with which they were registered before they retired; and out-of-turn health care treatment in clinics

with which they are registered, as has been established for invalids of the Great Patriotic War.

Also provided is the possibility of purchasing via the rayon executive committees of consumer durables, within the quotas set by the city trade department.

The privileges apply to those rehabilitated persons who are registered as Moscow residents.

At present, the question of granting victims of repression free medicines, a 50 percent reduction on payment for living space, and other privileges is being devised.

In September, the rayon executive committees will begin to hand out to those persons special passes for privileges, according to the lists which they themselves have drawn up on the basis of information on rehabilitation.

Well, now, the Moscow City Soviet has adopted a marvellous decision.

Role of Presidential Council Examined

PM2308115890 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 33, 26 Aug-2 Sep 90 pp 8-9

[Article by Yegor Yakovlev: "The Presidential Council. An Inside View"]

[Text] We have been forced to get down to this subject by questions from readers—in letters and at meetings. What rights does the Presidential Council have? What are its functions? Since the incumbent President is also General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, will not the Presidential Council become another Politburo like the one which interfered in everything and decided everything? Such are the questions which many people tend to ask. What should be said to answer them?

Stanislav Shatalin: I fully understand those who ask these questions. Even I, myself a member of the Presidential Council, don't know: what am I? What am I responsible for? What share of responsibility do I take upon myself? There is clarity only for one person—the president, who heads the Council. [Shatalin ends]

As regards the latter, the academician most likely jumped to a conclusion: by far not everything is clear about the President and about his powers. Considering the ever increasing initiative on the part of the Republics with respect to their sovereignty, the possibility is not ruled out of him becoming President "within the confines of the Sadovoye Koltso"—to use the terminology of one well-known Decree.

Recently I interviewed seven members of the Council. At my request the President, too, voiced his views about the Council.

Composition

There are 17 members. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers alone is entitled to a seat on the Council by the Constitution. All the others have been appointed by the

President, which suggests how he sees the closest entourage of a Head of State. At any rate—today.

Unsophisticated statistical calculations can help give some idea about the Council members. Their average age is 58.4 years (close to the age of the President himself). Their national composition is 12 Russians, and one each from Armenia, Georgia, Kirghizia, Latvia, Ukraine. All are men. All have a higher education, with the sole exception of Venyamin Yarin (secondary education). The Council members include three academicians, two corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences, one doctor of science, and two candidates of science. The only non-party member is Valentin Rasputin, all the rest are members of the CPSU, ten of whom, moreover, have held positions of responsibility in the party hierarchy. Five bear the title of Hero of Socialist Labour.

They come from the same circle. They have marched shoulder to shoulder through the corridors of power, and have been blessed with official recognition. Even in their age they are close to one another—the age range is 14 years: the youngest—Rasputin is 53 years old, and Dmitriy Yazov and Aleksandr Yakovlev are both 67.

On the other hand, each of them has his own rating, and in the eyes of public opinion they are associated with different political trends. They are very different, not necessarily compatible people: Ryzhkov and Shatalin, Yazov and Yakovlev, Rasputin and Aytmatov, Osipyan and Yarin. What was the President guided by?

Gorbachev: I am being told: there are very different people on your Council, for instance, Rasputin and Aytmatov. I reply: they are different because both of them are personalities. I would like the Council to include the most outstanding representatives of society—that's one thing. And secondly, they are as different as our society is different. I have warned my colleagues in the party: acting as the President, I must see the whole of society, see what is going on in the Republics, on each political line of advance. Appraise all this and harmonize it to the extent of my powers. [Gorbachev ends]

Needless to say, the President's closest entourage will continue being further replenished. But by whom? Will the multiparty system find a reflection in it?

Nikolai Ryzhkov: There is no escaping from this as other parties are formed; this is inevitable. The council I believe, will be built along multiparty and non-party lines.

Yevgeniy Primakov: The Council must not be shaped on the principle of party affiliation. Now we are in a transitional period. For instance, in the democratically elected Supreme Soviet of the USSR Communists make up almost 90 per cent of the members. After some time everything will be different.

Shatalin: Today the Council is thoroughly Communist. But this is because we are just emerging from our cradle. It will soon turn into a coalition Council. [Shatalin ends]

Powers

No decisions are taken, and no vote "for" or "against" is made, at the Council's sittings. During a discussion on the question of the transition to a market economy someone suggested: let's take decisions by approving in the main the concept presented by the government. And right away voices were heard: we have no right to do this...

The Council's consultative role is not to be questioned by anyone. But are its powers exhausted by this? There is still no clarity on this score. There are some, for example, who tend to believe in the Council's exceptional importance in the structure of state authority.

Grigoriy Revenko: Mail which was previously forwarded to other addresses has started reaching us. This implies a yearning for the tsar and a confirmation of the fact that independence, to say nothing of responsibility, is not being realized in the localities. This is dangerous. The President with his Council can easily become choked by current pressing issues.

Yakovlev: If it is believed that the Council can and must deal with everything, we shall end up at square one, with collective responsibility degenerating into collective irresponsibility.

Shatalin: As a Council member dealing with the economy, I stay in touch with the leaders of this sphere. But what must our relations be like? May I ask, for instance, the Minister of Finance to do something or do I have a right to tell him that he must do it? Mistrust and petty offences arise. The lack of understanding among us hinders us from pulling one cart by our common efforts. [Shatalin ends]

So what's the matter? Is the vagueness due to the fact that the institution is just taking shape? Or are the different approaches inherent in the very range of persons standing close to the President? Some of them are permanently busy on the Council, others simultaneously hold posts in the government. Isn't this the reason for the growing contradictions?

Vadim Bakatin: The President is what he is. And he needs the Council for consultation. No matter what recommendations may be given to the President, he takes decisions himself and assumes the full weight of responsibility for them.

Ryzhkov: The Presidential Council must remain a council, not an administrative body. I have given much thought to how relations between the Council and the government will take shape. This is a factor of no small importance—and it worries me. It worries me not from the personal point of view—some people go, others

come—but because there is a need to set up an effective system for running the state. [Ryzhkov ends]

This is the way the head of government reasons. In the past there was a close link: the Politburo passed all fundamental and many other decisions, and the government fulfilled them, with a decorative role allotted to the Supreme Soviet. The country somehow managed to survive. The old system has disintegrated. A new one is in the making. The rapid movement forward is impossible without costs and losses. For all the usefulness of their work, the Supreme Soviet's commissions and committees are beginning to acquire the features of the CPSU Central Committee's sectoral departments because quite often they concentrate on topical issues. If the same also happens to the Presidential Council, another two executive bodies will appear in addition to the government. Isn't this too much for one country? The council's correspondence with the government indicates that it is beginning to get bogged down in issues which are the responsibility of the executive. If the reins of state administration continue being taken over by the Council, it will be simpler to pass over to the American system under which the President also embodies the executive authority. However, in Ryzhkov's opinion, the country is not prepared for this.

Are these apprehensions shared by those who are busy exclusively on the Council? All of them emphasize: we must not supplant the government. But they also add:

Valeriy Boldin: I wouldn't say that the Council is merely a consultative agency. It is still a body for collectively deciding many questions, advancing and testing original ideas. Lastly, on the President's instructions, the Council members take part in deciding practical issues.

Primakov: I wouldn't be too categorical in limiting the Council to a mere consultative role making recommendations to the President and then watching from the sidelines whether or not they are going to be implemented. I am in touch with many officials, trying to give practical effect to the President's policy... One should presume that the Council will transform itself, acquire new functions, and assume the adoption of definite decisions. The Council includes ministers, who already are in positions of power. The present-day situation has made them even more important figures. [Primakov ends]

It is difficult to forecast what powers the Council will possess in the final analysis. One thing is not in doubt: the further consolidation of the President's power cannot but affect the position of the government. For instance, the ministers who are members of the Council—and hence figures of special importance—will find it difficult to adapt to the teamwork of the cabinet. Most likely things will take such a turn that international politics, defence, and the protection of state security and public order will become the prerogatives of the President. It is

not for nothing after all, that the Council includes the ministers of foreign affairs, defence, public order, and the Chairman of the KGB.

Bakatin: The Council of Ministers will have to shrink. If we have a system based on self-regulation, the government will come to service the economy—and then, only for all-Union programmes.

Yakovlev: If the President's power stands the test of time and history, the practice of the Council's work will also take shape over the years. [Yakovlev ends]

Priorities

In a few days the institution of the presidency in the USSR will mark its more than modest jubilee—five months since its inception. All this time the President has signed laws, came forward with messages and statements, issued instructions, and adopted decrees. And his Council sought, to use Shatalin's expression, to "mini-mize" the errors possible in this case.

Leafing through newspapers, it is not difficult to calculate: there were 19 decrees (not considering the decrees on awarding ranks and decorations or on stripping anyone of them, as it happened with Oleg Kalugin). Five of them dealt with the transition towards a market economy; five were prompted by the situation shaping up in the Baltics; two dealt with the mass media, and most of the others were conditioned by pressing demands such as emergency aid to children suffering from the Chernobyl disaster or a ban on the unwarranted formation of armed detachments.

Is it possible to judge on the basis of this about the President's priorities which he and his Council must formulate? Most likely, it's still too early. Just as it would be premature to say that with the emergence of the post of President we have secured a harmonization of the interests of the country and the Republics, or that we have achieved an absolute superiority of nationwide interests above all else. It has still been impossible to accomplish many things.

Boldin: In a nutshell, we live in a period when everything has started developing in a haphazard way. There is the President and there is his decree. But there are some who do not recognize this—I mean both individuals and Republics as a whole.

Bakatin: We will soon hold the record for the most presidents in one country. Relations among Supreme Soviets are one thing, but those among individuals are something different: one President standing above all, the others in the Republics. This is fraught with danger.

Revenko: Respect for the law has been reduced to nought in the country. As a citizen and personality I must be held responsible solely under the law and be protected by it. But if I am protected by the law and you—buy a submachine gun, these are different degrees of protection.

Bakatin: The President has been bound hand and foot. He must act within the framework of the Constitution, but it has grown obsolete. He must influence legislation, but for all that he cannot change a single comma in the existing laws, no matter what they may be like. One example: we want to make prison conditions more humane. In America a prisoner may get and send as many letters as he likes—he is free to write every day. In our case he is allowed one letter a month. And I, as the Minister of Internal Affairs, cannot change this procedure: such is the legislation. But even the President cannot permit a prisoner to send two letters instead of one.

Revenko: Until the legislative, executive and judicial authorities start operating with clockword precision, the President will not be able to ensure either accord in the country or observance of civil rights and liberties. [Revenko ends]

How then should the President act in such a situation, what methods should he use?

Gorbachev: Only political ones. To accelerate the transition to market relations and the conclusion of a Union treaty. These are two sides of the same coin. The market will give incentives to people and reinforce natural relations, whereas the new federal relations will enable the Republics to use their potential. We must go through this if we want to revive society. [Gorbachev ends]

The President is free to adopt decisions, but society has a right to assess them. And this is by no means an idle moment, especially during the emergence of a new authority. What do Council members think about the popularity of the President's first steps? For the most part they found it difficult to answer this question: society's polarization has reached the limit—what suits some evokes angry protest on the part of others. Perhaps, they were more concerned with the attitude towards the very figure of the President.

Primakov: Today one needs greater courage to say kind words about the President or his Council than to smash everything to smithereens.

Revenko: It's impossible to see the President as solely a politician and fail to notice a human being in him, fail to understand that he has the same heart as you have. If you want the best for the people, you must remember: today you humiliated the President, tomorrow you will be humiliated, and later you will witness the universal suppression of human dignity. The President needs dependable support in every section of society. [Revenko ends]

I didn't ask the council member again what exactly he had in mind. It was already evident: there is no broad and authoritative movement in the country which backs the Head of State. Most likely, the Communist Party—considering its present-day disarray—cannot become

such a movement. Moreover, the bureaucratic strait-jacket still fettering the party can only return it to the past—something which Ivan Polozkov has unequivocally declared.

The President's power is great. But it must have someone to rely upon.

Organization

The salary of a Council member is 2,100 roubles a month, the second largest in the country after the President's. But not everyone has accepted it.

Ryzhkov has admitted that today he receives no money at all. Previously, like all the members of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, including its General Secretary, he was entitled to 1,200 roubles. Now, as we all know, he is not a member of the Politburo. But there is no salary for the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, because the prime minister was automatically a member of the Politburo. Ryzhkov was offered the stipend of a member of the Presidential Council, but he refused. He believes that just as the income of the President was determined by the Supreme Soviet, so must the incomes of its Chairman and the head of government.

The composition of the Council can be conditionally divided into three groups. Some of its members work exclusively on the Council, as presidential functionaries. Their duties have been specified. Boldin is in charge of the aparat taking shape under the President, and is busy with organizing the work of the Council. Primakov gives effect to liaison with new parties, political movements and the press. Revenko is responsible for the Union treaty, and Yakovlev for political matters. Vadim Medvedev, who was recently appointed to the Council, has unexpectedly changed his occupation and is responsible for foreign economic relations—the first occasion when a Council member has assumed functions parallel to those performed by the government.

The second group is the premier and his ministers. They take part in drafting documents adopted by the President, and attend the Council's sittings. Roughly the same is being done by the third group of Council members—Aytmatov, Osipyan, Rasputin, Shatalin and Yarin.

The functionary members of the Council will have a small aparat attached to them.

Revenko: Working together with me will be various aides, three consultants, one adviser and one reviewer. These people will have to set up links with more skilled specialists on specific questions. [Revenko ends]

A beginning has also been made on the formation of special services which will support the Council's work by dealing with socio-economic and international analyses and sociological research studies. Acting directly under the President are the departments of awards, clemency and citizenship.

Boldin: The Council of Defence has always been within the Ministry of Defence—such was the tradition. But the Council of Defence has broader functions than those of the military or the defence industry. This is a body of nationwide importance, and it is more appropriate for it to be attached to the President. [Boldin ends]

So far the Council has had five sittings, three of them jointly with the Council of the Federation.

Yakovlev: The Council considers a wide range of views. Therein lies the guarantee of successful discussions.

Shatalin: On the Council there is an obvious desire to understand one another. Each voices his own point of view. He is listened to and never interrupted, everyone shows great respect. This is gratifying. What is upsetting is that it has not yet become a practice to discuss the drafts of all of the President's decrees on the Council. Nor has the mechanism yet been defined to ensure the implementation of the President's decisions in the localities.

Gorbachev: We are still engaged in searches. We study the systems adopted in other countries. We consider the roles of mayors, prefects, and governors. But I would not like a local figure to be appointed solely by the President. An appointment must take place in junction with the local Soviet. Be it its chairman, or someone who is legislatively vested with necessary powers. Even in this question there is a need to dovetail with the overall process of democratization. [Gorbachev ends]

Having stayed for too long in one place, we are now in a hurry all the time and tend to run ahead—especially our fellow-journalists. And the magic figure of the first 100 days of the President of the USSR has been raised over and over.

It is, of course, possible to judge the 100 days of a first term of the US President, who has the backing of 200 years of one-man rule sanctified by the Constitution. But, honestly, it is ridiculous to compare this with our situation, where the countdown has started on the first months of the presidency—a position which is absolutely new both for the seven decades of the Soviet system and for the entire history of the country.

What is the use of talking about 100 days when even the first decree of the President of the USSR has not yet been fulfilled. It said that the President's office, like that of his Council, is in the Kremlin. But to this day the Council has no common roof over its head. There are some who occupy their former offices in Staraya Ploshchad (headquarters of the CPSU Central Committee), while others confine themselves to ministries or their homes. It is planned to house the Council in that building of the Kremlin which still houses the government. But it has turned out that this building is in dire need of repairs: the pipes are about to burst and the wiring to catch fire. It is not yet clear for the government where it should move.

"I'll set up a tent in Ivanovskaya Square in the Kremlin and accommodate the Council of Ministers in it," Ryzhkov jokes.

No, American analogues are no good in this respect. The presidency is being vindicated in this country according to the standards of our own homeland.

Bakatin Interviewed on Ethnic Problems

PM2308110690 Paris LE FIGARO in French
17 Aug 90 p 3

[Interview with Interior Minister Vadim Bakatin by Laure Mandeville; place and date not given]

[Text] Moscow—[Mandeville] Does the problem of maintaining order in the USSR's republics not now pose one of the most serious threats to perestroika's future?

[Bakatin] It is difficult to establish a classification of our difficulties. We have so many tensions in our society! Especially political tensions, since we have inherited a one-party system, from which we must emerge in order to proceed toward a pluralist system. The other problem—the most difficult and most fundamental—is the collapse of our economy. We have to perform a task with no historical precedent—to move from a planned economy to a market economy.

The third problem is relations between the nationalities. It is directly linked to the building of a new union. For the past year I have said repeatedly that it is essential to draw up a new treaty of union. We are lagging far behind. If it had been drafted a year ago it would have helped to dispel the tension between the republics.

[Mandeville] How do you analyze the causes of this tension?

[Bakatin] These ethnic problems, as we discreetly call them, cannot be viewed all together. Each has its own political, historical, and economic origins. People are too often content to explain them in terms of a very difficult socioeconomic situation, poverty. But we must be objective and acknowledge that we have never resolved the national conflicts. When a people try to settle their problems by attacking another nation, then they become a blind and deaf force. Like that which set the Uzbeks against the Meskhetian Turks.

[Mandeville] What is the Interior Ministry's task in the face of these problems?

[Bakatin] These problems are so extensive that they demand a political solution. The law and order forces can only freeze the situation, separate the conflicting parties.

The local authorities are the first ones to blame. They encouraged the development of these movements and are themselves affected by this sickness of nationalism and encourage the peoples to hate each other. Then they summon the Interior Ministry troops to restore order.

[Mandeville] What is the opinion of the new Armenian president, Levon Ter-Petrosyan, with whom you met recently?

[Bakatin] He is a wise man. I told him just one thing: Start negotiations with Azerbaijan. I told the Azerbaijani president the same. If they do not sit down at the negotiating table, then who will? Give me a single example of a conflict where a third party has succeeded in resolving the problems between two nations.

[Mandeville] Ter-Petrosyan proposes handling the maintenance of law and order himself. What do you think of this?

[Bakatin] The new Armenian leadership has a moderate stance: Do not concern yourselves with our affairs; we will restore order, they say. We in Moscow agree entirely with this approach. It is precisely what we want.

[Mandeville] So were those who perceived a threat of intervention in Mikhail Gorbachev's decree about dismantling the armed militias wrong to be afraid?

[Bakatin] Yes, there is no reason to fear that.

[Mandeville] Your ministry's statements sometimes give the impression that the movements active in the Caucasus are composed solely of "criminals." Is it as simple as that?

[Bakatin] Of course not. As I have said, it is a political problem with legitimate origins. But there are also common criminals and outright bandits who have joined the ranks of these illegal militia forces.

[Mandeville] Where do their weapons come from?

[Bakatin] From all over. We have recorded a total of 10,000 weapons missing. They belonged to the militia, to educational establishments providing military training, sports clubs, the KGB.... Others were stolen from the Army. Others still come from abroad. We reckon that 6,600 weapons have disappeared in Armenia alone—maybe more.

[Mandeville] How are we to interpret Mikhail Gorbachev's decree on dismantling the militia forces, if it is not to result in a seizure of weapons?

[Bakatin] It aims to bring an intolerable situation back under control. It is already being implemented with regard to the return of weapons. So it is useful.

But its second aim has not yet been achieved. It concerns Armenia alone, the only republic that admits to having armed groups that do not conform to the constitution. Ter-Petrosyan has proposed handling the problem of dismantling these paramilitary groups himself.

[Mandeville] What are the precise terms of the agreement reached with him?

[Bakatin] They will deal with this problem themselves and strengthen their own militia force. If they want our help we will grant them it.

[Mandeville] How will you help them?

[Bakatin] These are details. Perhaps we could send contingents of troops, but only if they request it.

[Mandeville] So do you accept the creation in Armenia of republican military groups responsible for maintaining law and order?

[Bakatin] No, there will be no military group—only a strengthening of the Armenian militia force.

[Mandeville] Did you broach the issue of the Armenian national army, which is the largest illegal group in the republic, with its 12,000 men?

[Bakatin] No... We only concluded a kind of agreement: their promise to restore order, on condition that we do not interfere in their internal affairs. Now they must keep their word.

[Mandeville] You mentioned the confrontation between Azerbaijanis and Armenians and your troops' role as a buffer force. But the fact that they have themselves become targets complicates the problem....

[Bakatin] These are only isolated incidents, attacks on the militia force or on armed patrols. You cannot talk in terms of outright clashes. However, if we launch an intervention operation there will be a war against our troops and dozens of them will die every day.

[Mandeville] If a republic now has a monopoly on maintaining law and order on its own territory, this means that a complete change of outlook is emerging in the USSR and that the respective role of the center and the republics will undergo a huge upheaval. What, then, will the Soviet Interior Ministry's role be in a union of sovereign republics?

[Bakatin] This is a crucial question. Our entire society is changing, the center's prerogatives are shrinking, and the power of individuals is increasing. This is happening also in our own ministry, though we are essentially a more conservative structure than average. When you grant rights you are also allocating responsibilities. So many would rather adhere to the old system of military orders.

Nevertheless our Union must be reexamined, rebuilt according to a new principle: First the republics, then the center.

For the present the republics are regaining their power, but a time will come when they will define the powers that they want to transfer to the center. If they believe that the fight against crime is an individual matter for Lithuania or Uzbekistan, the Interior Ministry no longer has any reason to exist! But this would be a stupid idea. Everyone is well aware that that crime is a phenomenon

that transcends borders. Even on the international level institutions are created that are capable of coordinating the fight against crime.

[Mandeville] You recently announced an increase in the numbers of the Interior Ministry's special troops. However, more and more republics are refusing to allow their nationals to do their service outside the republic....

[Bakatin] This is a complicated problem. It is the soldiers' mothers who are rebelling against us. The Interior Ministry's special troops comprise some 50,000 men. But because of problems relating to enlisting troops in the Baltic countries and the Caucasus we have a shortage of 6,000 men.

[Mandeville] That is a lot! How is such a problem to be resolved?

[Bakatin] One of our solutions will be to establish battalions of troops enlisted on contract. We have already tried this experiment in one unit. But obviously professionalization is very expensive. A contract soldier costs about four times as much as a draftee: 4,000 rubles [R] instead of R1,000.

[Mandeville] Is the Interior Ministry being depoliticized?

[Bakatin] It is, rather, an elimination of party influence. Do not forget that there are some 19 million people in the party. These people are human beings, yet we want to expel them and set them to sweeping the streets. Of course when there is a multiparty system the Communist Party cells will disappear because you cannot have 15 parties within the ministry. But for the present situation is very difficult. We are on the edge of a precipice. The party can still be helpful in the current change, make it less painful, and prevent excessive destabilization. I am therefore in favor of a gradual elimination of party influence and depoliticization.

[Mandeville] What is the status of relations between the KGB and the Interior Ministry?

[Bakatin] We have never been answerable to the KGB. The only restriction is that we have no counterespionage system, and the KGB deals with that task. But we have decided, with its agreement, that it will no longer deal with it.

[Mandeville] So is there no conflict with them or pressure on their part?

[Bakatin] We have never concerned ourselves with the substance of demonstrations, whether anti-Soviet or pro-Soviet. Our concern is the maintenance of law and order.

[Mandeville] Will there be a reform of the KGB?

[Bakatin] Of course: They are completely redefining their activity. For instance, the fight against dissidents is over. A law on the KGB is being drawn up.

[Mandeville] What is your opinion of General Kalugin, one of the first KGB officers to publicly denounce the activity of his organization?

[Bakatin] He does not interest me. What he did was treason, and I do not respect people like him.

[Mandeville] Why is he a traitor if he did not reveal any secrets?

[Bakatin] Perhaps he did not reveal any secrets; I did not study his remarks. But he has committed moral treason. He knew everything that went on in the KGB, since he worked there for many years in a responsible position. He knew all the errors of that ideology. So why did he not speak out in 1982 or 1983? Then I would have considered him a splendid fellow, a hero. But to act in this way now is a cheap way of getting ahead and making a name. He knows that he runs a risk. The problem about his supposedly spectacular move is that it came five years too late.

Further on CPSU Secretaries' Reports on Trips

PM2308132090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 Aug 90 Second Edition pp 1,3

[PRAVDA-TASS report: "Knowing People's Moods"]

[Text] A routine session of the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat has examined questions put to 28th congress delegates and members of the CPSU Central Committee and Central Control Commission who have visited republics and oblasts.

The many meetings with labor collectives and the public show that the desire to renew the forms and methods of the party's activity and tailor its work to the aspirations of Soviet people is meeting with understanding. A.S. Dzasokhov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said, reporting on the visits made by congress delegates and members of the Central Committee and CPSU Central Control Commission to a number of republics and oblasts in the period since the 28th congress.

At the same time, more energetic and tangible steps aimed at improving the situation in the socioeconomic sphere and implementing urgent measures to stabilize the political situation in society are expected from the party, party organizations, and Communists. Soviet citizens persistently and rightly demand a resolute stepping up of the struggle against crime. They speak with indignation about major violations of contractual commitments in sectors of the national economy and the fact that many enterprises are forced to stop work, which is having a dire effect on the economy. Actions that disorganize production and tangibly affect the vital interests of workers and their families are being sharply condemned at party organizations' meetings.

CPSU Central Committee Secretary O.D. Baklanov gave his impressions of his visit to Dnepropetrovsk Oblast.

He met and talked with defense sector workers. Questions of social protection and employment in production have become acute there. The problem of conversion is unfortunately being resolved poorly and incompetently. In these conditions, the Central Committee secretary stated, party organizations are avoiding asking awkward questions. Yet their efforts should be aimed primarily at participating in the search for more effective areas of conversion and at preserving the scientific and technical potential and the high standard of technology and specialists. The technical, scientific, and intellectual potential accumulated in those sectors should be used intelligently and carefully for creative interests: involvement in the fate of each engineer, designer, and worker is the direct duty of party organizations of defense establishments.

Many questions on improving the population's food supply arose in conversations with urban and rural working people in a number of oblasts of the Ukraine and Kazakhstan, Ye.S. Stroyev, CPSU Central Committee secretary, said. In this connection opinions were expressed that during the harvesting period the party must ensure broad cooperation with soviets and trade unions, Komsomol [All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League], and other social organizations and must pool their efforts to ensure good working and living conditions for harvest participants.

The current situation demands more resolute and urgent measures from central and local organs to mobilize the urban and rural population to ensure prompt, high-quality harvesting and the safekeeping of the entire crop. This will make it possible to considerably increase the country's food resources and improve the population's food supply.

Reporting to the Central Committee Secretariat about the results of meetings and conversations with the party aktiv, Communists, and working people of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, CPSU Central Committee Secretary O.S. Shenin noted that the majority of speakers viewed the sociopolitical situation in that republic as complex and tense. Industrial production is declining, crime is increasing, pressure on the supporters of socialist perestroika is mounting, and working people's rights and freedoms are coming under attack.

The reorganization of state, production, and various social structures in Lithuania is being used as a pretext to replace conscientious and principled cadres who adhere to socialist and internationalist positions. This is particularly evident in the attitude of leaders and specialists of enterprises and organizations subordinate to the Union.

How are Communists acting in these difficult conditions?

The Communist Party Central Committee and party committees in Lithuania have begun working more energetically since the 28th CPSU Congress. They are overcoming the initial confusion and showing political initiative. Evidence of that is provided by the growth of

Communists' prestige among working people and the increase in the number of people entering the CPSU's ranks.

Questions of stabilizing the sociopolitical situation, resolving ethnic problems, and the unity of the USSR occupied a special place in conversations with Communists and working people of Kirov Oblast, CPSU Central Committee Secretary V.A. Kuptsov stressed.

CPSU Central Committee Secretary G.V. Semenova has recently had a series of meetings with the women's aktiv and representatives of women's councils in Moscow. Those she spoke with noted with concern that local authorities are not taking not enough real measures to improve living conditions.

New forms of people's power are being created everywhere. The task is to bring their activity closer to people's everyday needs.

CPSU Central Committee Secretary Yu.A. Manayenkov conveyed the concern of Communists locally that vital questions connected with people's daily needs should not be overlooked in the heat of political debate.

At the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat session serious criticisms were addressed to the party organizations of those state and soviet organs whose actions are arousing the population's just complaints. Attention was drawn to the role of Communists employed in leading economic work in ministries and departments, whose activity must be thoroughly backed up by a struggle to implement the party's social policy formulated at the 28th CPSU Congress. The solution of new economic tasks and the creation of the necessary conditions for involving labor collectives from industry and agrarian production in fulfilling the decisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet must be a matter of paramount importance for them. In this connection, the Secretariat outlined a system of concrete measures for participation in the work of the upcoming fourth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The CPSU Central Committee Secretariat appealed to all Union republic Communist Party Central Committees and party kray and oblast committees to ensure systematic and extensive direct contact and meetings and gatherings with the population at work and in their homes and to respond sympathetically to all the questions raised.

Citizens Rights Protestors Set Up Moscow Camp
LD2308211190 Moscow TASS in English 2042 GMT
23 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandras Budris]

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—The need for an effective mechanism to protect the rights of Soviet citizens was discussed by a news conference held at the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Glasnost and Citizens' Rights and Applications today.

The news conference was prompted by a protest action which is held in the very heart of Moscow. A tent camp was formed several tens of metres away from Red Square about two months ago. Some 100 people who came mostly from Russia and the Ukraine live there in polyethylene tents. These people believe that they were unfairly treated by local authorities and hope to attract the attention of the country's leadership.

Chairman of the parliamentary committee Vladimir Fateyev told the news conference that a sharp increase in the number of citizens' applications to the USSR Supreme Soviet constitutes a problem. Some 300,000 applications a year were made in the previous years. More than one million applications and requests came to the present parliament and its bodies in 1989.

Fateyev said that an absolutely new law on citizens' applications is needed now. He said that the presently operating decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium cannot ensure that each question be dealt with by a competent organisation and that there is the needed monitoring. Fateyev said that the new law has already been drafted and will possibly be submitted to the fourth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet which opens in September.

The chairman of the parliamentary committee said that people's deputies work with those who live in the tent camp in Moscow. He said that far from all cases can be settled successfully, as a number of those who complained are people "whose conduct cannot be socially regulated" or those whose problems cannot be resolved by the existing legislation.

Soviet Deputy Interior Minister Nikolay Demidov told the news conference that the militia does not take any measures against the residents of the camp. It believes that the camp's existence is "no threat to public order." Demidov is of the opinion that the Moscow Council of People's Deputies should participate in deciding the camp's destiny.

Diphtheria Outbreak Reported in Moscow

LD2408081290 Moscow TASS in English 0750 GMT
24 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—A sudden outbreak of diphtheria has claimed the lives of eight people in Moscow, the MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper reports today.

It quotes Nikolay Filatov, from Moscow's sanitary epidemiologic station, as saying that a total of 154 diphtheria patients have been registered in the city. These include 121 adults and 33 children.

Filatov blames the epidemic on the reluctance of Muscovites to undergo preventive injections because of the vaccine's low quality and the lack of disposable syringes.

In the first half of the year, Moscow medical institutions received only 11 million syringes instead of the required 47 million.

Plans for 'Echo of Moscow' Radio Station Noted

90US1248A Moscow TRUD in Russian 12 Aug 90 p 4

[Interview with A. Korzun by V. Perevalov under the rubric "Mini-interview"; place and date not given: "A New Radio Station"]

[Text] Radio listeners have already become accustomed to the call signs "Nostalgie Moscow" [Nostalzi Moskva] and "Europe Plus Moscow." Soon there will be a new radio station on the air—"Echo of Moscow." We asked Aleksandr Korzun, one of its creators, to talk about it.

[Korzun] We plan to begin the first broadcasts on 20 August 1990—the builders have promised to finish repairs by then on building of the journalism department of MGU [Moscow State University]. We are going to prepare our broadcasts in its recording studio. The management of the Moscow radio broadcasting transmitter is giving us time on the air—at first an hour or two per day. Later that will be doubled....

[Perevalov] What are the goals of the new radio station?

[Korzun] Moscow, Moscow Oblast, and the surrounding oblasts are a tangle of political, economic, and ecological problems. We are going to highlight them as objectively as possible. There will be the very latest news, good music, and some advertising....

[Perevalov] Who is the founder of the station?

[Korzun] Primarily it is the Information Agency of NOVOSTI, the "Radio" association under the USSR Ministry of Communications, and the journalism department of MGU. The Information Agency is giving air time and money, and the journalism department is giving us the necessary equipment.

[Perevalov] Where will "Echo of Moscow" be broadcast?

[Korzun] The radio station will operate on the medium frequencies in the "Mayak" band. Our region will be Moscow and Moscow Oblast as well as the Tver region and Vladimir, Ryazan, Tula, and Kaluga Oblasts. According to preliminary calculations, our audience will be 20-30 million people.

Economic

Moscow Stock Exchange To Open in November

LD2308205990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] The first all-Union stock exchange is to open in Moscow in November. This was announced at a press conference given in the capital today by representatives of the USSR Gosbank [State Bank], the USSR Ministry

of Finance, the All-Union Association of Commercial Banks of the USSR, and the joint-stock investment and finance company Fininvest. At the beginning of this month these four organizations signed an agreement on setting up a committee for promoting the development of a securities market in the USSR. The committee's conclusions and proposals will have the force of recommendations.

The new body's functions will be to draft an all-Union law on the securities market and the stock exchange, to train specialists and create the necessary infrastructure, including information facilities. All Soviet organizations and bodies of state administrations intending to take part in securities operations will be able to participate in the committee's inaugural conference planned for early November.

It is expected that there will be 1,500 joint-stock enterprises in the country by the beginning of next year, with stock worth approximately 180 billion rubles. Initially the stock exchange in Moscow will sell shares for the 100-120 most prosperous of these enterprises. Following the Moscow exchange, others will be set up in Chelyabinsk, Irkutsk, and Vladivostok.

Ration Cards for Bread Introduced in Tarusa

904D0208A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Aug 90 Second Edition p 1

[Article by Oleg Stepanenko: "Short Rations?"]

[Text] The news flabbergasted everyone—ration cards for bread introduced in Tarusa, Kaluga Oblast. Reports appeared on the front pages of Moscow newspapers. And they were like military operations reports—"the battle for bread"... "for the third time in 72 years we have come to bread rationing"... "eat however much they give you"...

Such unusual news—especially in the setting of gloomy newspaper forecasts—naturally attracted all sorts of rumors. And many readers were alarmed in earnest. The calls come in—"What has happened in Tarusa? Do bread coupons threaten us all?"

We phoned A. Lazarev, chairman of the Tarusa Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies and first secretary of the party raykom [rayon committee].

"Yes, that is a fact. As of 23 July we have indeed introduced ration cards for bread in the city," Aleksandr Sergeyevich informed us.

What caused such an emergency measure?

"Emergency circumstances. The rayon center is on short rations for bread."

And this—in peacetime? Unbelievable. Alas! The little town on the Oka "grows" in summer to almost double. But this did not cause any particular difficulties before.

"The situation changed prior to summer of this year," Lazarev continues, "when they introduced the passport system for selling in Moscow. Rayon residents were deprived the opportunity of purchasing products in the capital. Less milk, meat, and pastries means people eat more bread."

And then there was news that prices of bread and bakery products were going to increase—there was a big stir, and Moscow residents, both on vacation in Tarusa and those arriving specially from the capital to stock up "for a rainy day," rushed into the stores here to buy up macaroni, cereal, and canned goods. The shelves were wiped clean as if a cow had licked them with its tongue. Local residents and Moscow dwellers, always on the best of terms, developed more difficult relations.

"Taking stock of this crisis situation, we were obliged to take measures to protect the interests of local residents," Lazarev explains.

And so bread coupons appeared. A norm was established—half a kilo per person per day. Not very good, even when compared to wartime.

"Why half a kilo? In recent years, 520 grams of bread has been the amount baked for each member of the population per day. And this was always enough for everybody. So there hasn't been any practical decrease in the norm. It's just that when people snatched up the macaroni and cereals, the demand for bread increased. Also influencing the situation was the fact that this year the sale of mixed fodder to the population was curtailed sharply and some people were forced to buy more bread for their livestock. Clearly, those who made the decision to implement 'passport trading' have always been well provided for. They have not had to endure hardship and were unable to consider the psychology of older people going through difficult times. Some of those who had seen misfortune started preparing dried crackers for future use. In addition, shipments of the highest quality flour to Kaluga Oblast, and consequently to the rayons, were short in July by more than 400 tons."

Those in the most difficult predicament turn out to be Muscovites vacationing in Tarusa with their families and children. They are trying to cope as best they can. Some were forced to cut short their vacation.

"We understand all that. But what do you do when you don't have food for your own residents? On 24 July we sent a letter to Moscow City Soviet Chairman G. Popov, and two days later published an open letter to him in our rayon newspaper—over my signature and that of Deputy City Soviet Chairman E. Gladkovskiy. We had proposals concerning redistribution of stocks for the summer. Let Muscovites traveling to Tarusa get detachable coupons in Moscow, use them here and get goods on an equal footing with local residents. Then we present these coupons to the Moscow City Soviet and they provide us food products according to the norms."

"How did the chairman of the Moscow City Soviet react?"

"He didn't. But Moscow newspapers raised the matter of Tarusa bread coupons to the level of the Iraqi aggression. It's a pity they showed everything in a one-sided light, did not analyze anything thoroughly."

"How will events now unfold?"

"I have no doubt but that in September we will return to unrestricted sale of bread," Lazarev states. "We have gone to widespread sale of the new-harvest grain to the population—at least 200 kilograms to each family. Additionally, a third bread-baking line is being introduced in the local bakery. We have also acquired a mobile army bakery."

As we see, the situation is easing up.

Among the assertions, questions, and partial questions the press has brought up in connection with the Tarusa "battle for bread" is the following: "Write what you want, but eat how much they give you. Will this become the new principle of socialism?" I can assure you—it will not. Yet not everything is right with bread-baking and the output of other bakery products. Since 1986 production has decreased by 14.3 kilograms per capita throughout the country. Among the reasons—and PRAVDA has already reported on this—is the technological backwardness of the baking industry. In Moscow, for example, almost three-fourths of baking production capacity was introduced from 1926 through 1935, and it has undergone no substantive renewal. This is what the authorities and business managers need to focus attention on. The Tarusa occurrence itself, I believe, does not require any special commentary. Here it is clear—the economy is more complicated than the most eloquent presentations seen on television or in the press. And banging at the gates of a weaker person is not entirely safe—the response may match the call. All the same, in the way of commentary let me cite the specific proposal of A. Lazarev:

"New machines and automatic systems have a mechanism I call the 'idiot-proof.' If a worker presses the wrong buttons or pulls the wrong levers, the mechanism will drench him with a foul-smelling liquid or bang him on the head. I propose that such mechanisms be installed in the offices of those who make the responsible decisions."

Well, this seems like a sensible suggestion to me—so that the reverberations do not resound somewhere far from Moscow, in the provincial Tarusas.

Murmansk Faces Serious Gasoline Shortage

PM2308150890 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Report by V. Anuchin and A. Uchinin from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] There is a serious gasoline situation in Murmansk.

[Reporter] For two months the city and the Kola Peninsula as a whole have not received any gasoline from the Kirishi Oil Refinery. Only two or three tank cars have still to arrive—then there will be nothing for weeks. There are days when virtually all transportation grinds to a halt. Food deliveries to stores and hospitals are being disrupted and the city's buses are at a standstill—as is construction transportation. The unloading of railcars of fruit and vegetables is being held up. This produce is rotting, yet people are waiting for it not just in Murmansk but in the Far North and Far East. The only means of transport that has not been disrupted is the ambulance service—and even ambulances are only being allocated 20 liters of gasoline a day each. The repeated complaints to the Kirishi plant have only met with formal replies or excuses. It claims to have no system for shipping fuel. The Murmansknefteprodukt Association has concluded a business contract with Murmansk's railroad workers. And a special center has been set up to clean the tank cars and dispatch them as quickly as possible. But there is still no gasoline.

[Vinogradchiy] The reason for it is that the plans of Kirishinefteorgsintez and the Goskomnefteprodukt [State Committee for the Supply of Petroleum Products] differ. This is due to the fact that the Goskomnefteprodukt's plans are the quotas issued by the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee] and Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply]. But Kirishinefteorgsintez adopts its own plan these days. And it finds it more advantageous to enter into direct contracts, bypassing these plans which are handed down from above—if I may put it that way.

[Reporter] And our oblast has nothing it can use to settle up, is that it?

[Vinogradchiy] The oblast just doesn't have anything to give them for the gasoline, unlike what they can get from the Baltic, central oblasts, or agricultural oblasts.

Moscow Plant Produces New Television Sets

PM2308083690 Moscow Television Service in Russian
0830 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Report by L. Ilchenko from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Until recently, the Gorodnya television plant, a subsidiary of the Moscow Rubin plant, produced only modulators for Rubin television sets. The new economic management conditions have enabled the enterprise, within a short time, to start up the production of its own finished products which promised acceleration of the enterprise's social and economic development. Our correspondent reports:

[Ilchenko] To begin with, some good news for television viewers: This is the new television set produced at the

Gorodnya Agat plant. It includes all the technical features of a modern television set. The television set is based on semiconductors and microcircuits. It operates in the VHF and UHF bands. It incorporates a Soviet-made cathode ray tube measuring 61 cm in the diagonal. The modern design also includes the following important features: The Agat set weighs only 30 kg, and runs on 95 watts.

At the beginning of the year it was planned to produce only 5,000 of the new sets. However this quantity has already been produced. It is estimated that by the end of the year more than 13,000 Agat sets will have been produced.

Nonetheless, the new sets are just as difficult to get hold of as any other television set.

[N.V. Zabolotnov, plant director] The first reason is the shortage of components for the production of television sets which is experienced by all plants. And the second reason is that little is being done to encourage initiative in the production of new goods on the part of enterprises and enterprise collectives. The production of any new output means extra work.

[Ilchenko] Soon we will be working in market conditions. How will this affect your enterprise? Are you ready for it?

[Zabolotnov] It would be too soon to say that we are ready for market conditions. Why? Because these very market conditions do not exist yet. There are discussions and proposals, but we have no idea what will or will not happen. Therefore we are waiting to see what will happen. Then we will take steps to adjust to the new situation.

[Ilchenko] It seems to me that market conditions already exist here, market conditions based on barter. Could you elaborate?

[Zabolotnov] Well, the point is that the enterprises who are supplying us with components are asking us to share our output with them. This also applies to other materials which we need either for production or construction. Everywhere we are paying with television sets produced over and above the state order.

[Ilchenko] This is how the economic activity of many enterprises is being revived at the moment, while they are waiting for the clear economic program for the transition to market conditions which is so badly needed.

Chemical Plant Boosts Panty Hose Output

*PM2308105090 Moscow Television Service in Russian
0830 GMT 21 Aug 90*

[Report by L. Ilchenko from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The Chernigov Khimvolokno Association has started up the production of 50 types of

consumer goods. On their own initiative they have also embarked on the production of an article which is in very short supply—women's panty hose. So, will there be panty hose in the stores? Lydia Ilchenko reports:

[Ilchenko] Let me tell you that this elegant panty hose in fashionable colors, plain or patterned, is being manufactured from production waste. Chernigov chemical workers have a lot of experience in the organization of consumer goods production. Using 800 tonnes of production waste for this purpose annually, the plant produces diverse essential household articles. This also determines the low price of the goods. The latest article, panty hose, has also become very popular with women of all ages.

[L.A. Kazakov, deputy chief of production unit] We could substantially increase the output of panty hose—10-to-15-fold, according to the most conservative estimates. We have all the necessary preconditions, with the exception of manufacturing equipment. This is lacking. We are willing to buy second-hand Czechoslovak- or Italian-made equipment. The problem is that there is no Soviet-made equipment of this type. We have appealed to virtually all the competent authorities beginning with Comrade Gusev, the chief of the chemical and timber industry complex. Alas, nothing has changed. You end up with the impression that concern for women was and remains only on paper.

[Ilchenko] Comrades, respond to the appeal of the Chernigov Khimvolokno Association, and there will be panty hose for our women.

New Maternity Hospital Opens in Baku

*PM2308133090 Moscow Television Service in Russian
0830 GMT 22 Aug 90*

[Report by M. Mamedov and cameraman N. Zeynalov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Another major health care center has opened in the Azerbaijani capital.

[Mamedov] Until recently this huge building in the center of Baku belonged to the former Azerbaijan Ministry of the Petroleum Refining Industry. The republic maternity hospital has now opened here. Although the new babies themselves are naturally unable to grasp what has been done for them, their mothers are aware from the first minute they enter the maternity hospital of the marvelous conditions created for them and their offspring. There are comfortable three-bed rooms with small dormitories nearby for the newborn. On each floor there is a cafeteria and buffet, and ornamental trees. The best specialists have been invited to work at the hospital, and they are reliably aided by modern medical equipment—which is not available everywhere at the moment, unfortunately. We should note that the building was transferred to the medics at the decision of collectives in the republic's oil refining sector. This is an example

worth emulating, the republic's president, Ayaz Mutalibov, said on a visit here. He made a high assessment of the efforts made by the construction workers, who reequipped the building within a short space of time. There are not enough maternity hospitals in Azerbaijan. Consequently, this new health installation is undoubtedly a very important event for our republic, which traditionally has a high birth rate.

Soviet Gold Sales Increase in West

LD2308085190 Moscow World Service in English
0700 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] The Soviet Union sold 300 tonnes of gold in London and Zurich during the first five months of the year. This is almost as much as it exported to the West through last year.

According to the Credit Suisse Bank, the Soviet Union is now the world's second largest supplier of gold. The bank said the Soviet Government's stocks of gold now run into 2,500 tonnes.

Agricultural

Agricultural Developments for 21-22 Aug Reported

LD2308054190

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 21-22 August, unless indicated otherwise. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parentheses at the end of each item.

21 August

Mass sowing of winter crops has begun in Moldavia. Almost 100,000 ha are being covered by them according to an intensive technology. (1100)

22 August

Over 5 million tons of grain have already reached threshing figures in Kazakhstan. (0600)

Farmers of the Orel Oblast have already delivered 20,000 tons of grain, above plan, to reception points. The plan was 500,000 tons. This year's crop is by far the largest one, in past years, which means that farmers and their families will have as much grain as they need. A number of farms are planning to sell grain which was threshed above plan for hard currency. (1500)

Freightcar Shortage Leads to Grain Problem

PM2308090090 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Report by A. Kozhukhova from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] "Vremya" follows not only the progress of this year's bumper harvest, but also the transport situation. Unfortunately, this week the situation as regards the unloading of grain has deteriorated sharply. Yesterday, for instance, the number of freight cars waiting to be unloaded reached almost 5,000. Most of them are being held up at familiar addresses—Uzbekistan, Turkmenia, Udmurtia, Khabarovsk Krai, and Rostov and Sverdlovsk Oblasts. But while we are dragging our feet over the unloading, the grain, into which so much effort has gone, is lying about at stations and getting wet. Who will answer for this indifference toward grain?

[Kozhukhova] It is the grain in the granaries that counts, not the grain in the fields, according to a popular saying. But it seems that this is more easily said than done. The bumper grain harvest has caught many people unprepared and has highlighted miscalculations in planning and forecasting and the lack of readiness for the bumper harvest at local level.

Hundreds of letters, telephone calls, and cables from Volgograd, Kyubyshev, and Ulyanovsk Oblasts and Krasnodar and Stavropol Krays are arriving at the Ministry of Railways. They all want the same: "Send us more freight cars!" It is virtually impossible to rationally distribute the available rolling stock of which there is not enough, and waiting times at grain reception centers are unpredictable. The state of unreadiness and dereliction of the approach lines to these enterprises, which are an integral part of our unified transport system, is a chronic problem.

It would seem that the harvest is over in North Caucasus and the Ukraine. So why are grain trains and covered freightcars not being released? They are needed in the Urals, the Volga region, Siberia, and Kazakhstan. The grain has been removed from threshing floors, but up to 2,000 grain trains per day are used to shift grain from elevator to elevator. And the reason? A shortage of grain storage facilities. The distances involved are not exactly short—from North Caucasus to Sverdlovsk, Orenburg, or Khabarovsk. The additional hauls mean duplicated effort. Railroad workers are claiming that although there are not many grain trains, there are enough of them to ensure a large volume of grain transportation. In August alone they have transported 1.3 million tonnes of freight in excess of plan. If only the rolling stock was not being held up at unloading sites, and if the length of the individual grain hauls could be reduced by 24 hours.... However, this needs concerted action on the part of transport and procurement workers.

Grain Unharvested in Mari Non-Chernozem Zone

PM2308133290 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1430 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Report by A. Aleksandrova and cameraman V. Zaigolnikov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Aleksandrova] These are the harvest fields of the Mari Non-Chernozem Zone. Here they are. They have not even been one-third harvested as yet. Overripe grain is being scattered. Ears of grain—turning brown and mixed up by the rain—are lying ever closer to the ground. Windrows are sprouting. There has been a big gap between the threshing of the grain and the stacking of straw. And this means that there is nowhere to sow winter crops or carry out fall plowing. Equipment is standing idle, most often because of a shortage of spares and fuel. And often because of bad organization or a basic lack of attention to people. You have to take your own lunch to the fields or you will go away empty-handed from the cafeteria—it is not working because there is no power. Who better than the leaders of the farms, rayons, and local soviets to resolve these problems and make sure that grain harvesting operations do not grind to a halt? And they are mainly people's deputies. [passage omitted]

Kuybyshev Oblast Experiences Harvesting Problems

PM2308112890 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1430 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Report by L. Krechetova from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Krechetova] Over 30 quintals of high-grade winter grain per hectare on average—an unprecedented crop for this area. Therefore it is all the more annoying that it has not proved possible to safely deliver all the grain to granaries on time. This picture [grain trucks in traffic jam] is the result of constant breakdowns of the conveyor belt linking fields, threshing floors, and grain elevators, and of the late and badly organized assistance from cities. The harvest of winter grain has dragged on for a month. [passage omitted]

[Krechetova] People on the Progress Kolkhoz [collective farm], the Pravda Sovkhoz [State Farm], and other farms in Bolsheglushitskiy Rayon [Kuybyshev Oblast] did not wait for outside help. They drafted in the entire able-bodied rural population. And they prepared machinery in advance for direct combine harvesting. Therefore even the sporadic rain is not holding up work for long. As soon as the wind dries out the ears a little, the harvesting combines are back in the fields.

[N.V. Bragin, chairman of Progress Kolkhoz] The only miscalculation which we all made in the rayon, was that we were late in acquiring high-performance harvesting machinery—the Don harvesting combines. The Don combines arrived while the harvest was already in progress, and not all of them have arrived yet. People are sitting around. And as for the Niva harvesting combines, they simply cannot cope with this year's bumper crop. They cannot cope with such abundance. We have hired the best combines, people understand and they are responding, but the machinery cannot cope. This is a lesson we must learn.

[Krechetova] Meanwhile the harvest continues. Not even half the grain has been cut yet, millet and buckwheat are ripening. We must avoid further losses.

Transport, Storage Shortage Hits Uzbek Growers

PM2308134490 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1430 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Report by Mukhtar Ganiyev and S. Ziyamukhamedov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] It is the height of the fruit and vegetable harvest in the Central Asian republics. But for some reason Central Asian fruit and vegetables are not found on our store shelves. Mukhtar Ganiyev tries to explain this question.

[Ganiyev] You know the prices at Tashkent's markets. It is not just housewives who find them interesting. Choice peaches are two rubles [R] a kilo. Grapes are R1. Tomatoes and eggplant are 50 kopeks. These melons are R2. Everything is in abundance. It is a sight for sore eyes. In the state trading system prices are far lower, but for quality reasons our housewives do their buying at market. It is definitely a better bet. The store assistants are bored with nothing to do. Their rotting produce is written off and, at best, will do for animal feed. Tashkent Rayon's Karl Marx Kolkhoz [Collective Farm] has facilities to store its surplus produce. Its canning plant produces 50 types of sauces, jams, and preserves out of the fruit and vegetables that the farm's own stores are unable to sell. But in Uzbekistan such kolkhozes can be counted on one hand. What happens to all the produce?

[Akbarov] We need to dispatch refrigerator cars. The railroads cannot supply them. But nature will not wait for us. In September we have to dispatch all our fruit and vegetables. Otherwise we will not be able to store everything.

[Ganiyev] To be honest, trucks, trains, and planes have been taking the fruit and vegetables to the center. But often people have no time to deal with them.

[Akbarov] The produce often stands there for several days in the refrigerator cars without anyone unloading it. Then papers get drawn up blaming us.

[Ganiyev] Perhaps somebody wants cars to stand idle, produce to spoil, shortages to be artificially created, and prices in Russia's markets to be inflated?

[Akbarov] The trading organizations have a stake in it.

[Ganiyev] This component of our economy will long be opposed to market relations. Just who needs this produce—Uzbekistan, where there is plenty; or the North, where there is not any? So what is the answer?

[Akbarov] I would like Moscow and Leningrad, the ispolkoms [soviet executive committees] and departments to send us their people to show us right here which fields we should use to grow produce for them. We are

ready to make deliveries right here, in the presence of their representatives. Then there will be no arguments.

Progress Reported in USSR Grain Crop

904B0281A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian
17 Aug 90 First Edition p 1

[Article by N. Osyehkin under the rubric "Topic of the Day": "Each Hour Is a Harvest!"]

[Text] Each day the harvest front spreads across the country and state purchases of grain gather momentum. In accordance with demands made to M.S. Gorbachev, president of the USSR and general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, additional measures have been taken by the party committees, the soviets of people's deputies and their executive committees, and leaders of the Union and local economic organs, kolkhozes [collective farms], and sovkhozes [state farms] to accelerate the pace of harvest work. According to a report of the USSR Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics], by 13 August, 38 million hectares of grain and legume crops (excluding corn) had been harvested and threshed in the country. This is 37 percent of the area under crops. Last week an additional 10 million hectares were harvested—4.4 million more than during the preceding week. The average yield per hectare exceeds 30.2 quintals, which is significantly higher than for preceding years. In all, 115 million tons of grain have been threshed, including 25 million this week.

Many party committees are conducting active organizational and political work for the harvest. Harvest detachments and complexes as well as leased collectives are headed by experienced growers of grain, including many communists. Pay conditions have been improved, and the use of moral and material incentives has been broadened, contributing to healthy competition and strengthening relations of mutual aid in the labor collectives. Concern for people and their work, food, and housing conditions has increased. A warm word about a person and the successes he has achieved uplifts people and has a positive effect on their mood.

The farm workers of the Kuban presented an example of selfless labor in the grain fields this season. They were one of the first to complete their harvest of cereal and legume crops. From each of the 1.7 million hectares, 53.7 quintals of grain had been threshed—12 quintals more than last year's level. As usual, the famous team of Mikhail Ivanovich Klepikov from the Kuban kolkhoz of Ust-Labinskiy Rayon distinguished itself. There the harvest of winter wheat was 82.4 quintals per hectare, barley was 84.8, and peas were 43.6 quintals. Well done, members of the Klepikov team! And they are not alone. More than 60 quintals of grain per hectare were harvested on the average by the farms of Bryukhovetskiy, Leningradskiy, Korenovskiy, Ust-Labinskiy, and Kanevskiy Rayons, and the farms of Timashevskiy Rayon harvested 65.1 quintals. All this is the result not so much of favorable weather conditions as of the wise use of intensive technologies and the selfless labor of the

farm workers. Now the people of the Kuban are carefully analyzing the lessons of the harvest labor and trying to use them to maintain and surpass these same targets in the future.

The grain growers of Rostov, Belgorod, Dnepropetrovsk, Zaporozhye, and many other oblasts have grown a large harvest and are now harvesting it as quickly as possible and taking efficient measures to preserve the grain. The farms of the Don, Stavropol, Donetsk Oblast, the Kalmyk ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], and the Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] have fulfilled their contractual obligations for the sale of grain to the government. There is good news on the harvest in the Urals, Kazakhstan, and other regions. In a word, practically everywhere conditions are allowing us to significantly replenish resources of grain, fodder, vegetables, and potatoes and to reduce the strain on the food market.

The harvest is moving further to the north and east of the country. In the Russian Federation more than one-third of the crops have been threshed, including 37.7 percent in the Volga economic region, 17.5 percent in the Urals economic region, seven percent in the Western-Siberian economic region, and one percent in the Eastern-Siberian economic region. The limits of the harvest are moving into Kazakhstan, where 15 percent of the crops have already been threshed. The harvest of cereal crops in the Ukraine and Moldova are nearing completion, and 59 percent of grain crops have been threshed in Belorussia.

This year's good harvest of grain crops is the result of a properly defined line of agricultural development, the persistent labor of the peasants, the work that has been done to master lease relations, and the introduction of intensive technologies. However, not everything about the harvest is perfect. Party organizations, soviet organs, and the press have been receiving letters which report with alarm and indignation serious difficulties, shortages, and instances of irresponsibility taking place during the harvest season. Problems are occurring because of a severe shortage of transportation and spare parts and because of interruptions in the supply of fuel. Poor use of equipment often leads to significant losses of crops. Storage of fodder is going slowly; less of it has been stored for winter than was stored last year.

Here are only a few examples. During July alone fuel delivery organizations shorted the villages by 306,000 tons of diesel fuel. Because of a lack of spare parts, more than 70,000 combines for harvesting grain are standing idle, along with 1,400 "Don-1500's," 154,000 automobiles, and 35,000 machines for harvesting fodder. We have already repeatedly given the name of debtor enterprises in our newspaper. Unfortunately, the situation still was not corrected after that. Apparently the public must be informed of specific perpetrators of interruptions in deliveries of spare parts and fuel.

The poor supply of vegetables, potatoes, and other products to the population of cities and industrial centers is a cause for great alarm. At the same time, a significant portion of the crops that have been grown rot on the fields because of a breakdown in ties between the city and the village and because of a shortage of labor on the farms. Vegetable areas around Moscow, Leningrad, and other regions are not fulfilling their contractual obligations to Astrakhan farms, which are strewn with tomatoes. If the necessary measures are not taken, the supply of agricultural products to the city population will worsen abruptly during the winter, which must not be tolerated.

Upcoming difficulties and problems in providing for the harvest of grain and other products were known about in advance. However, at the local level the leaders of many executive committees of soviets of people's deputies and organs of trade and public health have been unable to respond to the needs of the harvest workers. Drivers of combines and transportation and the workers on the threshing floors have been expressing dissatisfaction with the absence of medical supplies, tobacco, sweets, socks, and work clothing. The party committees have not been able to evaluate the situation correctly everywhere, and in a number of places the party and soviet organs have been acting independent of one another. In this instance the party organizations have been called upon to try to unite the efforts of the soviets, state organs, and public movements and to take immediate, additional measures to solve the problems of rural workers. It is intolerable that the endless lack of coordination and an unwillingness to make agreements have become an insurmountable obstacle between the labor collectives of the city and the village. Communists must be guided only by the interests of the business at hand, go with the people into the fields, genuinely help the peasants harvest vegetables, potatoes, fruits, and other agricultural products, and improve the trade in them.

Sale of grain to the state must be conducted at the same time as the harvest. So far, 34.8 million tons have been purchased—one-third of what has been harvested. In a number of areas state orders are being filled unsatisfactorily. Over the last week the state realized only 6.4 million tons. Automotive transportation is working at low efficiency, and in some places the elevators are "at rest." On the North Caucasus, Odessa, Dnepr, Southern, and Volga Railroads the volume of shipped grain has decreased significantly because of a shortage of wagons. Much uncovered grain has accumulated at grain-receiving enterprises and on the threshing floors of the farms, and it may spoil. We must not allow this to happen!

The harvest is now moving to those regions of the country where the cutting is always carried out under difficult weather conditions. This means that special organization and a determined joint effort by party, soviet, and economic organs and public organizations are needed. The harvest has reached the point where all the citizens of the country should feel responsibility for

its fate. Today it is the most important task of our economy and politics and the pledge of stability in the interests of perestroika. Party committees must contribute to the fulfillment of contractual obligations and help to implement the economic interests of the grain producers.

The CPSU Central Committee believes, and a recently adopted decree of the Central Committee's Secretariat states, that it is important for communists working in the ministries, departments, and especially in the State Commission for Food Goods and Purchases of the USSR Council of Ministers, the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, and the USSR Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building to examine requests from the local level immediately and make effective decisions on questions of providing supplies for the harvest campaign. The central committees of the Union republic communist parties, kray, oblast, and rayon party committees, and primary party organizations should work together with the soviets of people's deputies, economic leaders, and specialists to concern themselves with the efficient functioning of the harvest production line and help it solve problems of an organizational, material, and technical nature. They should do everything they can to encourage mass participation of residents of the city and the youth in the harvest work. Special concern must be shown for people occupied with the harvest and for the creation of appropriate conditions for productive labor and regular rest.

Guaranteeing a timely and high-quality harvest and proper storage of the produce has great economic and political significance for perestroika. It will become a concrete response to the ruling of the 28th CPSU Congress with regard to giving precedence to the development of agriculture, and it will result in a significant improvement in the matter of the country's food supply.

The summer day provides food for the year. Each hour is a harvest!

Scientific

Cosmos-2096 Satellite Launched 23 Aug

LD2408085690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0837 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, 24 August. (TASS)—Another artificial earth satellite, Cosmos 2096, was launched in the Soviet Union on 23 August.

The satellite carries scientific apparatus for the continuation of space research.

Besides scientific apparatus, the satellite carries a radio system for the precise measurement of orbital elements and a radiotelemetry system for transmitting to earth data about the work of the instruments and scientific apparatus.

The apparatus aboard the satellite is working normally.

Mir Crew To Begin Semiconductor Development

*LD2408093190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0800 GMT 24 Aug 90*

[Text] Gennadiy Manakov and Gennadiy Strekalov have completed their third week in space onboard the Mir research complex. Yesterday a 260-hour-long smelting was started to obtain zinc oxide—a semiconductor substance—in weightlessness. Another technological process to obtain a monocrystal of Gallium arsenide will start this evening on the Gallar facility. It will last 240 hours.

Systems onboard the Mir complex are functioning normally and the cosmonauts are well.

Health Problems Reported in Semipalatinsk

*LD2308191390 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1430 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Preparations are under way in Semipalatinsk to hold a day of remembrance for the victims of nuclear tests on 29 August, to mark the latest anniversary of the first blast at the test-site.

[Correspondent G. Sytykh] Over there, beyond the hills, an hour-and-a-half to two hours drive from here, the land was surrendered to a terrible force which has torn it apart. There have been hundreds of Hiroshimas in 41 years. Nearby are defenseless people, animals, the countryside. Radiation recognizes no frontiers. It acts insidiously, by degrees. The situation is made worse by the fact that the first blasts were carried out on land and in the air. I have spoken to residents who have repeatedly seen blinding flashes of light in the sky, like second suns. It is no surprise that in the villages more and more children are being born with deficiencies. Mental disorders and suicides—things which never existed here before—are now more frequent. Doctors are linking this directly to the long-term effects of the test-site. For the second summer running, students and lecturers from the Karaganda medical institute are working in Yegindybulakskiy Rayon. They are examining the residents, giving what help they can, and giving advice.

[Kenzhebayeva] It is not just striking, it is also shocking, that at the present time almost every child is anaemic. Retarded growth and weight are common here. Every child, from small to grown-up, has chronic inflammation of the nose, throat, and tonsils. The number of children with congenital developmental defects is growing. They die in early childhood.

[Sytykh] Not only does the population of this suffering rayon not receive any compensation from the state: There is also a miserly level of medical services here. These two converted buildings of the rayon hospital date back to 1928. Naturally there is no water supply and no sewage system. The premises are cramped. The rayon lacks a surgeon, gynecologist, neuropathologist, and others—there is a shortage of seven specialists altogether.

What is more, it is over 300 km to the oblast center. The new hospital, which is being built out of funds earned from communist subbotniks, has been turned by the contractor, the Oblagropromstroy organization, into a protracted building project, and no one knows when it will be finished.

[Zeyneshev] So we would now like this rayon, which is near to the Semipalatinsk test-sites, to receive more help. In this we have the support of the republican government and the leaders of the republic. But in Moscow, the Ministry of Defense and the Union government are not listening to this issue, and they don't want to deal with this matter.

[Announcer] After this report had been prepared, it was reported that instructions had arrived in Kazakhstan from the USSR Council of Ministers. They set out additional measures to accelerate the economic and social development of Semipalatinsk Oblast, and rayons in Pavlodar and Karaganda oblasts adjacent to the test-range. This report will give local residents at least some hope for an improvement in the situation.

Doubts About Chernobyl's Safety Refuted

*LD2308172990 Moscow TASS in English 1640 GMT
23 Aug 90*

[By TASS political news analyst Albert Balebanov]

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—The West Berlin "BERLINER MORGENPOST" published a statement asserting that "a new threat is posed by the Chernobyl nuclear power station." With a reference to unidentified "experts of the International Atomic Energy Agency" the newspaper writes that "a new accident might happen since the entombment hastily built after the fire at a nuclear reactor in 1986 might prove inadequate to the pressure."

TASS interviewed director-general of the All-Union Research and Design Institute of Power Engineering, Vladimir Kurnosov, who is the chief designer of the entombment for the fourth reactor of the Chernobyl nuclear power station at which the accident happened in 1986. Kurnosov said:

"The assertions of BERLINER MORGENPOST are not in keeping with reality. The stability of the entombment of the fourth reactor has been ensured by strengthening of building structures. An automatic system of monitoring the state of bearing structures has been installed. It was established by constant monitoring that the list and sagging of the entombment does not surpass permissible norms. The cover for the attachment of technological channels ('E circuit') is in a stable position."

"The designing of the entombment was unique engineering work. It required extraordinary scientific solutions in conditions of large radiation dosages (about 1,000 roentgen an hour). This is virtually the first experience of the elimination of major accidents at

nuclear power stations. It showed that such accidents can be coped with. At the same time it showed that there is a need of a different approach to the safety of nuclear power."

Military

Yazov Issues Order for USSR Air Fleet Day

PM2308100090 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 19 Aug 90 First Edition p 1

["USSR Defense Minister Order of the Day No 315" dated 19 August 1990, Moscow]

[Text] Comrade Air Force personnel, pilots, and navigators, engineers and technicians, Air Force and civil air fleet specialists, workers from the aviation industry and aviation veterans!

Today the Soviet people and their Armed Forces are observing USSR Air Fleet Day.

Aviators are meeting their professional festival at a crucial phase of perestroika and profound transformations in the political, socioeconomic, and spiritual spheres of Soviet society's life.

Air Force servicemen are honorably fulfilling their constitutional duty in the Armed Forces' combat formation. They are consistently resolving the tasks of a steady rise in combat readiness and improving their professional skill, and they have mastered modern equipment and military hardware. The everyday military labor of Air Force personnel is an important contribution in guaranteeing the country's security and the reliable protection of the motherland's peaceful skies.

The personnel of aviation associations, formations, and units are consistently resolving the tasks of perestroika and the transformation of the Armed Forces within the course of profound military reform. The composition of the Air Force, its organizational staffing structure, and the training of servicemen are being brought into line with the requirements of defense doctrine. Processes of democratization and glasnost are deepening in military collectives and a moral-political atmosphere of military friendship and comradeship is being firmly established. Measures to increase the legal and social protection of servicemen and their families are being implemented. Active work to implement the decisions of the 28th CPSU Congress is unfolding in military units, institutions, and military schools.

Civil aviation and aviation industry workers and DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy] air sportsmen are making a significant contribution to strengthening the USSR air fleet and the economic and defense might of the Soviet fatherland.

On this festive day, I wish all the USSR Armed Forces aviation personnel further successes in military labor, in

improving air combat, firing, and tactical proficiency, and raising combat readiness, moral, combat, and psychological qualities, and the strengthening of military discipline, law and order, and Army comradeship.

I wish workers in the aviation industry and civil aviation new achievements in creating and mastering promising aviation complexes and fully carrying out tasks involved in the conversion of defense enterprises.

I wish USSR DOSAAF aviators good and stable results in the development of aviation sport and the military and patriotic education of young people, and in preparing them for military service and the honorable fulfillment of their military duty.

I wish veterans of aviation tireless energy and purposefulness in the noble work of instilling in the rising generation loyalty to the revolutionary, combat, and labor traditions of the Soviet people and their Armed Forces.

To mark USSR Air Fleet Day I order:

That a festive firework display be held today, 19 August 1990, at 2200 local time, in the hero city of Moscow, capital of our motherland, in the capitals of the union republics, and in the hero cities of Leningrad, Volgograd, Odessa, Sevastopol, Novorossiysk, Kerch, Tula, Smolensk, and Murmansk, and the hero fortress of Brest, as well as the cities of Kaliningrad, Lvov, Rostov-na-Donu, Kuybyshev, Novosibirsk, Chita, Khabarovsk, Vladivostok, and Severomorsk.

I am confident that all the country's aviators will continue to consistently improve their professional skill and strengthen their socialist motherland's defense capability.

Kuptsov, Moiseyev Attend Air Fleet Day Meeting

PM2308080590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 19 Aug 90 First Edition p 1

[Colonel A. Manushkin report: "In Honor of the Holiday"]

[Text] A meeting of representatives of Moscow working people, servicemen from the capital's garrison, Armed Forces veterans, and civil aviation, ministry, and DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy] workers devoted to USSR Air Fleet Day was held 17 August in the P.I. Tchaikovsky Concert Hall. V. Kuptsov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Army General M. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and first deputy defense minister; and others participated in its work.

The following greeted the airmen: S. Mikhayev, general designer at the N.I. Kamov Design Bureau; P. Khmel-nitskiy, senior air traffic controller at the International Air Traffic Central Administration's production and air traffic control service; K. Nazhmudinov, trainer of the country's air sports team; and Retired Colonel V.

Tikhonenko, participant in the Great Patriotic War and head of an aviation dynasty.

Colonel General of Aviation V. Pankin, chief of the Air Force Main Staff and first deputy commander in chief of the Air Force, gave an address at the ceremonial meeting.

After the meeting there was a concert by masters of the arts.

Air Chief of Staff Cited on Reform, Conversion

*PM2308150290 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 19 Aug 90 First Edition p 2*

[Interview with Colonel General of Aviation V. Pankin, chief of the Air Force Main Staff and first deputy commander in chief of the Air Force, by correspondent Col. A. Andryushkov under the rubric "Today Is USSR Air Fleet Day"; place and date not given: "May the Motherland's Wings Be Strengthened"—first paragraph is an editorial introduction]

[Excerpt] The Soviet Air Fleet has a glorious history. On the eve of its 72d anniversary, our correspondent Colonel A. Andryushkov met with Colonel General of Aviation V. Pankin, chief of the Air Force Main Staff and first deputy commander in chief of the Air Force, and asked him a number of questions.

[Andryushkov] Valentin Yepifanovich, first of all, please accept our best wishes on the holiday. But if you have nothing against it, I would like to start our conversation with a "working" question. A great deal is now being said about the need for perestroika in the USSR Armed Forces. Please explain to our readers the extent to which military reform has affected the Air Force.

[Pankin] Thank you for your kind words. This is what I will say about military reform: It has affected us to the greatest possible extent. What exactly do we understand by Air Force reform?

First of all, the improvement of the organizational-staffing structure of aviation formations, units, and organs of administration.

The present situation results from the conditions of the defensive doctrine, the reduction in the Air Force combat strength, and the withdrawal of aviation units and formations from the groups of forces in Mongolia. To a certain extent this is also connected with the fourth generation aircraft that are entering our units' armory—the MiG-29, Su-27, Tu-160, An-124, and others.

Second, the equipping of aviation units and formations with modern aircraft with high qualitative parameters based on the latest achievements in science, hardware, and technology.

Have we achieved mutual understanding with the Ministry of the Aviation Industry? At the moment, unfortunately, we have not. We will have to radically change

existing practice both in the development of aircraft equipment and in serial production. We will organize things so that from now on most of the development of new models of aircraft and weapons together with the above-mentioned components are carried out on a competitive basis. We will only accept into our armory fully developed and perfected hardware and equipment, that is, complexes that have undergone both state and military tests.

There will no longer be any "experimental operation," any bringing equipment up to "the required standard" in phases, or any factory teams of finishers in our units.

Third, we intend to radically change the attitude toward military training. The motto "To fight not with numbers but with skill" has become topical as never before. Naturally this requires a review of certain provisions and a sharp increase in the norms of annual flying hours and the quantity of ammunition allocated for combat training.

The main emphasis in combat training will be concentrated on the use of simulation machines, for which up-to-date simulators for all types of flying machines which are already in the armory or are coming in, will be ordered from industry at the same time as the aircraft.

Fourth, the improvement of social living conditions for aviation cadres, the provision of comfortable housing for them, and the provision of domestic and consumer facilities in aviation installations.

I would like to add this to all that I have said: The reform of the Air Force is being carried out in a complex and contradictory situation.

It is no secret to anyone that the tension in the world still persists (Grenada, the Near East, Libya, Panama). The United States has not renounced and has no intention of renouncing a single one of its military-technical programs.

The contradictory nature of the situation, in my view, lies in the fact that although the cold war has ceased to exist, there have not yet been any guarantees of the irreversibility of the positive changes. And here is concrete confirmation of this.

On 15 February 1989 we withdrew our forces from Afghanistan, 26 September of last year the withdrawal of Vietnamese subunits from Cambodia was completed, the Cuban military contingent is pulling out of Angola, the withdrawal of our units and formations from the groups of forces in the West has started, and the withdrawal of the Air Force from Mongolia in the East has been completed.

And how did the NATO leadership react to this? For the time being there has only been talk and promises. Furthermore, U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney stated that "the thaw in the international climate and the improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations are no reason for a drastic reduction in U.S. forward-based forces."

If we also bear in mind the pacifist euphoria that has swept over our mass media, then the complex situation in which the Air Force is carrying out its reform will become clear.

[Andryushkov] Valentin Yepifanovich, the country's defense industry is increasingly being transferred onto a national economic footing. What is your attitude to the conversion of the aviation industry which manufactures aviation and other equipment for the Air Force?

[Pankin] Of course, the conversion is necessary; such is the demand of the times. But it must be carried out sensibly. Common sense suggests that it would be expedient to use the capacities that are being released for producing aviation equipment—passenger planes and helicopters. Some of them could be sold abroad and the money obtained could be used to buy the dye machines, pasta machines, cabbage planting machines, and other goods which aviation plants are now being made to produce.

I think that the time has come to fundamentally change the attitude toward the production of aviation complexes. Is it right that hundreds of aviation enterprises

and plants which, as a rule, come under the authority of a variety of ministries and departments, should make aircraft and helicopters? As a result, when shortcomings come to light in the course of operation, no one is responsible. [passage omitted]

Air Force Aircraft Workers Union Formed

*PM1908160490 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 12 Aug 90 First Edition p 1*

[Report by unnamed correspondent: "New Trade Union"]

[Text] The founding congress of the Air Force aircraft workers union has taken place. Expressing the will of the majority of primary trade union organizations in military units, higher educational establishments, and enterprises, the congress proclaimed the establishment of an autonomous Air Force aircraft workers union, adopted the trade union's statutes, and considered and approved the main areas of its activity in present conditions.

The congress elected leading organs. V. Kalosh was elected chairman of the Air Force aircraft workers union central committee.

Baltic Republics

Reportage on Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact Anniversary

Troops Drown Out Statement

LD2308134990 Vilnius Domestic Service
in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Valdas Kanapienis report on the rally to mark the 51st anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact from the Lithuanian-Soviet border crossing at Lazdijai on 23 August—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] "People were watched closely by the border troops and the armored vehicles stationed on both sides of the road.

Powerful Soviet Armed Forces had recently been drafted to the area. It is true, they do not advertise their presence too much; they remain in the nearby woods.

Alfonsas Vaisnoras, member of the Sajudis Seimas Council, and plenipotentiary member of the European Way committee, read a statement through a loud speaker at one of the road barriers. The statement expressed the aspirations of the Lithuanian nation to have its own south-west borders without coercive wardship of the occupying army.

However, officers switched on music so that privates could not hear these words. The officer who was asked to receive the statement refused to do so. [passage omitted]

'European Path' Ceremony Calm

LD2308155890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1348 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] [Announcer] The European Path ceremony is under way in Lithuania.

Vilnius correspondent Elena Kurkletite has the details:

[Kurkletite] My colleagues from Tallinn and Riga remember last year's Baltic path ceremony. Now, to mark the bitter anniversary of the Stalin-Hitler pact, Sajudis has organized a European week in Lithuania. The main events are centered near the Lithuanian border, near Lazdijai, today. A camp has been set up there, with a camp set up on the Polish side, too. Poles have actively joined this action at solidarity's request. People from other countries—Czechoslovakia and Hungary—have arrived in buses, along with guests from the Ukraine, Russia, and representatives of democratic movements from Moscow and Leningrad. A solemn public prayer for Lithuanian freedom and a rally under the European path banner will soon take place. A Lithuania Being Reborn concert will take place in the evening. Its sound will ring forth to both sides of the border.

[Announcer] Elena, surely you must know that many were worried over this ceremony lest any sort of disturbances or clashes should occur. What about it?

[Kurkletite] You know, no reports of any kind have so far come in about disturbances, even though it is a big crowd of people, numbering tens of thousands. The ceremony is organized and peaceful.

Some 500 people crossed the border this morning; further crossings are expected. People have the permission of the border troops, and the crossing from one tent camp to another is not something spontaneous but organized.

[Announcer] Is this ceremony symbolic?

[Kurkletite] Naturally. Those who feared this event evidently saw it literally as an illegal, spontaneous border crossing, which explains both the concentration of military vehicles, and military helicopters.

The organizer also agreed to name the event: Let Us Knock on Europe's Door.

If we talk of a common European home in which we intend to live, are barbed wires which divide us essential, ask the organizers of this event. Last year's Baltic Path of liberation served as a symbol; this year, let us look to free Europe; this is the theme of the event.

Arunas Zebriunas, the film director known by our listeners through many of his films on all-Union release, reported an interesting piece of news. The central script studio of Moscow plans to make a film about the history of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact. On 14 August, a contract was signed with the Lithuanian film studios. The archive doors evidently will open during the shooting of this film, said Arunas Zebriunas. The future film already has a title: "Terrible Game."

Jonas Brazas, an engineer from Vilnius and a participant in the event said this morning, when he was about to set off for the border, that the deal was a terrible one. The game that the big ones played with the small ones was also terrible; that, indeed, is why I am going to the border. I am going with but one thought in mind: to remind the world that Lithuanians are not only an ancient people, but also a freedom-loving European people.

[Announcer] Elena, the action will last a week. Apart from this, what other events are being planned?

[Kurkletite] On 25 August, in Vilnius, in Kalnu Parkas, a big dance will be organized. In the Moletai town square, 26-30 August, prominent Lithuanian politicians will participate in conversations on the subject: From the Shadow of Totalitarianism, Toward Democracy. The plan includes conversations about the problems of a multiparty system, processes in the East, and the place of the Baltic countries within the all-European context. incidentally, in accordance with a decision by the government of the republic and in connection with the staging of the Europe week, work Friday has been shifted to Saturday. Tomorrow is a free day in Lithuania.

[Announcer] Thanks go to our correspondents. I think our listeners now have a complete picture of how the European Path ceremony is taking place in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

Pact Commemoration Criticized

*LD2308164790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1600 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Exactly 51 years ago, the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact was signed, as a result of which many central European countries, including Poland, lost their independence and subsequently World War II broke out. In connection with this anniversary, a meeting under the slogan "The Road to a Free Europe" has begun on both sides of the Polish-Lithuanian border, in the region of Ogdzniki. It is organized by Sajudis and Solidarity.

An open-air mass was celebrated in the afternoon on the Lithuanian side. Tens of thousands of people from Poland and the Baltic republics of the Soviet Union took part. The event is passing off peacefully; despite fears, the Soviet border protection troops are not preventing border crossings in any way.

All the more surprising, therefore, are the declarations by a Soviet Foreign Ministry representative that this propaganda event serves to heat up the already tense situation in Lithuania.

Baltics Mark Anniversary

*LD2308212390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] [Announcer] The Baltic Path to Europe is the name of the action which inhabitants of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania are carrying out today on the 51st anniversary of the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. We have already spoken of this in previous bulletins. Our correspondent has just been in touch with Vilnius again and this is what Gilgas Barsonis, a member of staff of the Sajudis press center told him:

[Begin Barsonis recording] Nothing special happened in Lazdijai. Unfortunately, the expected crossing of the border did not take place because the Soviet border troops refused to hand over control of the border to the Lithuanian government. All the other events planned for this evening as part of the European Path program will take place. People are still arriving in Lazdijai. There have been no reports of incidents or conflicts. They phoned and said that the mood is very good, although, it is true that it has been clouded over a little by the fact that the [border] crossing will not take place today, but one can hope that it might tomorrow. There was a meeting there. An appeal, a declaration to all peoples and countries of the world was adopted. It protests the control of the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian borders by troops of the Interior Ministry's KGB.

In some places, religious services have taken place. Well, so far, this is all for now. [end recording]

Gorbunovs Speaks at Bonfire

*LD2308230290 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian
2000 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Remarks by Latvian Supreme Council Chairman Anatolijs Gorbunovs at a public bonfire in Tiraine on 23 August—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Bonfires were burning today in all the regions, settlements, and towns of Latvia. Latvians and representatives of other nationalities who feel anxiety and do not remain indifferent towards the future of Latvia had come together. The Baltic Road action which began last year and drew the attention of the entire world to the lawful demand by the three Baltic states for independence continued today as the Road to Europe.

Thousands of bonfires of unrest were as a symbol of our hopes and readiness to achieve freedom. Correspondent Aivars Tiltins reports.

[Tiltins] One of the bonfires burns here at Tiraine, not far from the building of the agricultural equipment association. [passage omitted]

[Gorbunovs] Good evening esteemed people of Marupe and Tiraine.

Looking today at this bonfire and the fierce wind, at least such a comparison comes to my mind that the political and economic life of our Latvia at some moments is as fierce and as nervous, as these flames rising up, (?whipped) by the wind.

But, nevertheless, we all are—at least I think—gathered in great numbers here at Marupe and at Tiraine and it appears to me that today we should all remember, after all, what pact it was on 23 August and what its consequences are.

We all know that this (?pact) robbed the people of the most dear [possession]—that is, the statehood—because, evidently, all people who respect themselves strive for statehood. And this statehood was carried off. This is a generally known fact. But, nevertheless, this year in July and in the beginning of August, reading both the central and our local CPSU newspapers, it appears that everything was very simple.

There was a revolution, the people were striving for a better life, and everything became resolved this way. And no troops were brought in at all, as there had been no ultimatum at all—as a result of which the government was replaced. The deputies of the Saeima do not mention in their programs a single word about further transformation of the statehood and incorporation into the Soviet Union, but the deputies voted for the incorporation of Latvia into the Soviet Union.

That is how it has been. But today the most important thing is how to overcome all these consequences—as the political ones and legal ones, so in economy and in culture.

And it appears to me that one should not especially theorize here at all. If, after all, this statehood, by adopting a resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet, were liquidated in such a way, then in the same way it must be restored. Here I think there cannot be a different alternative logic at all.

I am now being very much criticized by the member of the CPSU Politburo Rubiks about having signed a statement that Latvia does not participate in the working out of a Union treaty—he asks who has given me such this right.

But I should ask: Who has given me the right to participate in the working out of such a Union treaty, if Latvia has not regained her statehood.

This to my mind is very logical. In order to work out further or to sign some kind of treaties the statehood must be regained. [passage omitted]

Poland-Lithuania Events Viewed

LD2308211690 Moscow TASS in English 2107 GMT
23 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Malchun]

[Text] Ogrodniki, Poland, August 23 TASS—Despite calls by the Lithuanian Sajudis and Polish Solidarity movements, the organisers of the "Baltic Road to Europe" action, to stage mass crossings of the Soviet-Polish border on Wednesday and Thursday, the event failed to reach the planned proportions on the Polish side.

With the exception of the Solidarity trade union regional board and some groups of local members of the Polish Socialist Party and anarchists, major public organisations and political movements did not take part in the action.

All those willing were divided into nine groups and were crossing the Polish border into the Soviet Union in an orderly manner, using identity documents, which were agreed upon in advance.

About 1,200 people have gathered at the Ogrodniki-Lazdijai border point by this afternoon. Most of them were local ethnic Lithuanians. They looked at the action primarily as a chance to visit relatives living on the other side of the border without excessive formalities.

In the opinion of border guards, the organisers of the action did nothing to ensure necessary conveniences for participants. Henryk Simanowicz, a police officer from Suwalki province, described the happenings as a "show."

"I do not want to engage in politics, but the organisers of the action totally forgot about people. There is nothing to eat or drink here. There is no place to spend the night," Simanowicz said.

Colonel Jan Fedoruk holds the same view. He thinks that the organization of the event holds no water. Asked how

he evaluated the ultimatum to Soviet border guards that they leave their posts by 12:00 today, Fedoruk described it as "naive." He believes that problems are not solved this way in civilised countries.

The "One European Road" action, organised by the Sajudis national movement, continued on the Soviet-Polish border today, TASS reported from the Lithuanian city of Lazdijai.

Participants began to gather at a camp near the Lazdijai border point on Wednesday. Their number has reached several thousand by evening.

Valentin Gaponenko, who commands troops of the Baltic border district, told TASS that talks were held between the border authorities and representatives of the Sajudis Lithuanian national movement, who organised the action. He said that the Sajudis activists' demands in an ultimatum manner that the border guard be turned over to Lithuania generated concern.

"Until a respective treaty is reached at talks between the USSR and Lithuania, the guard of the state border is and will be under the authority of the USSR," Gaponenko stressed.

'European Way' Rally on Border

LD2308225290 Vilnius International Service
in English 2130 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] [Words indistinct] an estimated 100,000 Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians were turned away at the customs crossing at Laszdijai today, on the Polish-Lithuanian border (?in) a challenge to Soviet border [word indistinct]. The demonstrators were met by Soviet tanks [words indistinct]. Foreign journalists were also barred from crossing, although border guards indicated that several photographers from Moscow were able to enter.

On Wednesday more than 400 Lithuanians were allowed to cross over into Poland and today an estimated 5,000 demonstrators from the Polish side were granted entry into Lithuania. There was no Soviet official explanation as to why the 100,000 demonstrators were denied entry into Poland, but unconfirmed reports by Soviet border officials cite yesterday's undisciplined crossing as a reason for today's denial.

There were, however, no reports of disorder or unruliness by any of the television or radio broadcasts yesterday and the crowd today was calm and contained.

Today, following the recommendation of several members of the Lithuanian Government which appeared on Lithuanian television last night, the demonstrators did not try to breach the security of the border in an act of civil disobedience that was once speculated. A spokesman from Sajudis however described an incident this morning, when a sharp provocation was averted when demonstrators ignored the encouragement of a few individuals to rush the border crossing.

Vytautas Landsbergis, president of the Lithuanian parliament, addressed the crowd in the evening, saying: The play is over; it is time to look at the tanks and smile, he said.

The demonstration organized by Sajudis begins Euro-Week, a week of political and educational activities, focussing attention on the joining of Lithuania's borders with those of West Europe. It comes on the 51st anniversary of the Hitler-Stalin Pact, the secret deal which led to the illegal Soviet annexation of the three Baltic nations. Many of the participants took pieces of barbed wire from the border. Some women made crowns. One of them remarked: This is the kind of wire that surrounded the Soviet work camps in Siberia, where thousands of Lithuanians died.

For Vilnius Radio this is (Jonas Madays), from Lazdijai on the Polish-Lithuanian border.

[Announcer] The participants of the mass meetings that were held today on the Lithuanian side of the Polish-Lithuanian border adopted a document stating that we participants of the European Way call on the government of the Soviet Union to return to Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian governments the right to control the borders of their own states. Fifty-one years have passed since the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact was signed, yet the Baltic states are still behind the iron curtain. And this is the reason for the tolling of the mourning bells in Lithuania today. At three p.m. mass was celebrated on the Lithuanian side for the independence of Lithuania. Afterwards, an action of signature collecting started near the Lazdijai customs post in southwest Lithuania, the site of mass camping on the Lithuanian territory.

(?The piece to be signed calls) the issue of the Baltics to the Paris conference. The appeal demands the issue of restoring the independence of the Baltics to be discussed at Helsinki process. The Baltics should be included into the Paris conference or allowed to participate as observers. Signature collecting will continue throughout the whole of Lithuania and this will expand into the outer world as well with the help of the Lithuanian emigre community. Camp fires were (?set) across Lithuania at eight p.m. sharp to symbolise the longing for freedom that is burning in the hearts of every Lithuanian. At nine p.m. a concert program started on the Lithuanian side with various popular singers and [word indistinct] taking part.

Khasbulatov, Russian Delegation To Vilnius 24 Aug

LD2308133190 Vilnius Domestic Service
in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] Ruslan Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, and a delegation he is leading, are expected to arrive in Vilnius. It is expected that political and legal issues between the two countries will be discussed. This will take place tomorrow.

Pro-CPSU Lithuanian Party Plenum Reported

PM2208101190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Aug 90 Second Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent Yu. Stroganov: "Consolidation Needed"]

[Text] The Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU) is in a complex situation. Forces opposed to the party are actively utilizing many newspapers and journals as well as television, to which the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU) does not have access. Nonetheless, gorkoms [city party committees] and raykoms [rayon party committees] uniting 40,000 Communists who did not break with the CPSU have been restored in cities and rayons.

How are the problems facing them to be solved and what methods should be used to conduct the work aimed at implementing the decisions of the 28th CPSU Congress? These questions were discussed at the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU) plenum held Saturday. CPSU Central Committee Politburo members—CPSU Central Committee Secretary O.S. Shenin, who was visiting Vilnius, and M.M. Burokevicius, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU) Central Committee—took part in it along with gorkom and raykom secretaries and a number of economic leaders.

Before the plenum opened O.S. Shenin and M.M. Burokevicius laid wreaths at the V.I. Lenin monument.

Later at the plenum Yu. Zhemaytis, a war and labor veteran from Kaunas, stated: "We demand that all dismantled monuments in Lithuania be restored."

Many speakers discussed the reasons behind the complex sociopolitical situation in the republic. For instance, G. Taurinkas, chairman of the Lithuanian DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy] Central Committee, noted that local party organizations have still not found new methods for conducting vigorous activity.

"We need to shoulder greater responsibility, nobody will solve our problems for us," he said.

The plenum participants said that more vigorous action is needed. A. Kulakov, secretary of Sneckius Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU) Gorkom, proposed in particular that action be taken against the unregulated price rises occurring in the republic.

There was considerable criticism of the CPSU Central Committee and the central mass media, including PRAVDA. The speakers noted that more honest information about events in Lithuania is needed.

But the reason for the complex situation in the republic lies also in the party's loss of prestige at a certain stage—that was the opinion of V. Pukas, party committee secretary at Motor Transportation Enterprise No. 1. The party is now winning back that prestige, but, as the speaker noted, we need allies, we will achieve nothing in isolation. The idea of the need to consolidate forces

with other progressive organizations was supported by the plenum participants. They talked in particular about active work among the rural population and the need to protect socialist gains in every possible way.

O.S. Shenin, who spoke at the plenum, stressed that the party should work for people. The time has come to move from the resolution of internal party problems to the resolution of the party's main tasks. O.S. Shenin noted that people are starting to realize the CPSU's consolidating role, shared his ideas about the economic problems associated with the country's development and the party's participation in this process, and familiarized the audience with the avenues of the CPSU Central Committee's activity.

M.M. Burokevicius delivered a speech at the plenum.

That evening O.S. Shenin and M.M. Burokevicius visited Kaunas.

'Lies' Used in Media Campaign Against Draft

PM2308102290 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 19 Aug 90 First Edition p 3

[Report by M. Ziyeminsh from the Baltic Military District: "Ordered To Monitor and Inform"]

[Text] In its 3 August issue the parliamentary newspaper LIETUVOS AJDAS almost sensationally informed its readers: "A raid is planned for the night of 4 and 5 August." And later: "Groups of between five and 10 officers have been operating in every part of Lithuania for two weeks now. They are tracking Lithuanian citizens who have deserted their military service."

The text also reported that troops would be used in a planned raid in the hamlet of Rukla. And not any old troops, but assault troops. To ensure that Lithuanian youngsters do not get caught up in the raid, "we ask the public to monitor troop subunits' movements, particularly in Kaunasskiy, Alitusskiy, and Ionavskiy Rayons, to report to local representatives of the regional defense department, and to inform the press. Young men are advised to constantly change their location."

It should be said that this is a very typical picture of today's Lithuania, when all kinds of truths and lies are used to persuade young people of draft age, as well as those who have deserted from the Armed Forces, to dodge their responsibility for the violations they have committed. And the self-appointed guardians of young Lithuanian citizens' welfare are particularly unperturbed about choosing propaganda methods and means—they do not even balk at juggling with the facts.

Here, for instance, is what the parents of Private R. Keturakis recently wrote to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA and a number of other newspapers. "We succumbed," they bitterly stated, "to this agitation (the 'Sajudis' agitation), traveled to the unit, and tried to persuade Ramunas to leave it. He did not want to do so, but we told him that he would not be punished and would be protected by the

Lithuanian Supreme Soviet and 'Sajudis.' For a long time we were visited by representatives of the military unit who tried to persuade Ramunas to return to the service, but we did not believe them and continued believing the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet's Military Service Affairs Commission..."

The conclusion from this bitter public repentance: "We appeal to the parents of all young Lithuanian men not to repeat our mistakes."

It remains to be said whether these parents' ability to see clearly only returned, unfortunately, when the threat was raised of legal proceedings against their son for what he had done. Will others really have to travel down the same road?

Latvia Plans Restoration of 1940 Borders

LD2308191890 Moscow TASS in English 1842 GMT
23 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga August 23 Tass—The trip of activists of a number of Latvian public organisations to the adjacent Pskov region of Russia announced for today has been called off. The deputies wanted to mark by posts Latvia's 1940 frontier.

A month ago such activity resulted in a conflict. Representatives of Latvian public organisations installed posts with the Latvian emblem on Belorussian lands, about one and a half kilometres away from the official border. The district forestry of Belorussia demanded 1,318 roubles from the organisers of that action in compensation for trees cut in the forestry area.

After that the Latvian government formed a commission to restore Latvia's borders with Lithuania, Estonia, Belorussia and Russia in the framework of the 1940 frontiers. Head of the commission Ilmar Bisher, first deputy chairman of the Latvian Council of Ministers, believes that there will not be many disputed questions. The one regarding the Pytalovo district of the Pskov region of the Russian Federation is expected to be particularly difficult. In 1944 these lands were turned over to Russia under a decree of the presidium of the Latvian Supreme Soviet. Now Latvia intends to press for the restoration of these lands.

Latvia Plans To Open Border Checkpoints 1 Oct

PM2208142090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Irina Litvinova report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Latvia Back to Old Borders?"]

[Text] Riga—[Litvinova] The Latvian Council of Ministers has adopted a resolution to restore the republic's land border with Belorussia, Lithuania, Russia, and

Estonia. The borders as they were at 16 July 1940, and which were fixed by international agreements have been taken as the basis.

A government commission headed by Ilmars Bishers, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, has been formed to carry out the resolution. He told your correspondent:

[Bishers] "It is planned to carry out restoration of the border in several stages. First we will go through the documents and clarify everything factually. Then we will form a joint commission with the adjoining states. After disputed questions have been discussed, we will get down to marking the border along its entire length.

"There have already been disputes, when a few weeks ago a group of People's Front activists arbitrarily 'restored the border' in Vitebsk Oblast's Verkhnedvinskiy Rayon. A section of forest was felled on the territory of a Belorussian kolkhoz and 'posts of contention,' as local inhabitants called them, were put up. The rayon authorities expressed their protest and the Verkhnedvinskiy forest authority brought an action against the organizers for destroying woods in a nature-preservation zone.

"This is, of course, spontaneous action. If everything is done in a civilized fashion, there will not be any problems. After all, the border has not changed, it was merely lost in certain places. We will check the documentation and the disputes will disappear. But it is rather laborious work."

[Litvinova] "What will the fate of the current city of Pytalovo, known in Latvia as Abrene, be under the adopted resolution?"

[Bishers] "From the legal standpoint, it is Latvian territory. This is confirmed by the 11 August 1920 treaty with Russia. That is the basis for us. We also discussed this question at the current talks with the Russian delegation. It is apparent that we will not immediately be able to dot all the i's, and we suggest the signing of a special agreement on this point. After we settle this question at government level, we will also poll inhabitants of Pytalovo-Abrene. But these are the long-term prospects. We will begin with the 1 October opening of customs checkpoints at the border with the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and Belorussia.

Latvian Appeal Urges Discrimination Against Army

PM2308140190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 22 Aug 90 First Edition p 4

[Article by Colonel M. Ziyeminsh under the rubric "Direct Line": "Another Ultimatum?"]

[Text] Riga—In the Baltic republics it has long been customary for the press, radio, and television to pay intensified attention to the Army. And the texts of all kinds of publications, broadcasts, statements, and appeals are often in the nature of an ultimatum. The

latest appeal by "plenipotentiary and responsible representatives of social organizations to the government of the Latvian Republic and all social organizations and residents" was no exception in this respect. What does the appeal say? "The genuine rebirth of Latvia," we read, "is unrealistic while occupation troops are present." A "thesis" that is not new to the republic's public and now strikes quite a strong note of banality is propounded for the umpteenth time. It is heard from the lips of such "progressive" Latvian social organizations as the radical association of the Latvian People's Front, the Christian Democratic Party, the club for the protection of the environment, the "Helsinki-86" group, the Latvian pacifist movement, the "club of victims of neo-Stalinism," the "Salvation" group, and a number of other organizations. But what is now worrying the informants? "The USSR Army contingent in the republic is being deliberately increased as a counterweight to the Latvian people's aspirations for a free, sovereign state..." the text of the appeal says. There is a need to introduce some clarity here. There is no increase in the Army contingent in the republic, and none is planned. Colonel General F. Kuzmin, commander of the Baltic Military District, stated this in a recent television program.

Admittedly, there was an instance when 42 servicemen from the Southern Group of Forces were transferred to one communications unit. But this, according to the commander of the district's forces, was an enforced measure, since because of the wrecking of the draft in the republic it had not been possible to establish the full complement of the necessary categories of specialists. There were also some manpower rearrangements in a communications unit where new equipment has entered into service. But those are actually the only changes, as Col.-Gen. F. Kuzmin frankly said.

But apparently some people are not suited by these explanations. Any pretext is needed in order to inflame anti-Army feeling in the republic. And this time "plenipotentiary representatives of social organizations" call on the republic's government, soviets at all levels, and the whole population to "oppose the creation of favorable conditions for army units." Namely: not to allocate apartments, construction materials, building land, visiting cards, or food coupons. The most worrying thing is that certain local soviets are indeed acting in more or less this vein. A resolution discriminating against servicemen was adopted recently in the city of Ventspils. This is an area where intervention by the republic's supreme authorities is really required.

Conference on Immigration Held in Riga 18 Aug

LD2208094890 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian
1730 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Text] On Saturday [18 August], a conference was held in Riga devoted to questions of immigration. Participating in it were representatives of the Councils of People's Deputies of the Republic of Latvia, the People's Front, the National Independence Movement, and other public

organizatuions, as well as representatives at Council of Minister level of the republics of Estonia, Lithuania, and Moldova. Concerning Latvia, at the moment the immigration control is quite unsatisfactory there. Neither the so-called Resolution 46 of the Council of Ministers adopted by the government on limiting immigration, nor the new draft law on immigration can unfortunately change the situation, and the immigration continues. Moreover, since the 1950's, Latvia's situation has been worse than that of Lithuania and Estonia. It was reasoned at the immigration conference that now the most important thing is to initiate various measures to promote the reemigration of one time newcomers. At the conference on immigration, the Immigration Council of the Republic of Latvia was formed. It will serve as the basis of a Department of Immigration, the establishment of which is hoped for.

Ruutel Addresses Estonian Supreme Soviet 6 Aug
90UN2660A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 8 Aug 90 pp 1, 2

["Speech by Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet, at special session of Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet on 6 August 1990"]

[Text] In restoring Estonia's independence we have always proceeded from the will of the people and tried to take account of realities in the republic and outside and to display composure and consistency.

Toward the end of last year political processes in Estonia finally reached the stage where, on 12 November 1989, the Supreme Soviet adopted a decree on a historical and legal evaluation of the events that occurred in Estonia in 1940. This document recorded that the foreign policy and military actions of the Stalin leadership of the USSR against the Republic of Estonia in 1940 qualify as aggression, military occupation, and annexation. The decree of the State Duma of 22 July 1940 "Declaration on Estonia's Joining the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" was deemed legally invalid since it did not represent the free expression of the will of the Estonian people.

The Supreme Soviet resolved on the basis of the principle of succession to seek Estonia's restoration as a subject of international law. This decision was undoubtedly a factor as a result of which the Congress of USSR People's Deputies adopted on 24 December 1989 a decree on a political and legal evaluation of the 1939 Soviet-German nonaggression treaty.

In the subsequent period the attitude of the majority of the population and, accordingly, the political forces of Estonia also toward Estonia's future assumed a new quality. It was conclusively formulated at a general assembly of people's deputies of all levels in Tallinn's city hall on 2 February 1990.

The declaration on the issue of Estonia's state independence proceeds entirely unequivocally from the idea of the restoration of Estonia's independence on the basis of succession.

In developing this declaration the Estonian Supreme Soviet adopted on 23 February the decree "Preparation of Estonia's State Independence." This document contained an appeal to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies proposing consideration of the question of the legitimacy of the USSR law of 6 August 1940 "Acceptance of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic as Part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" and confirmed the proposal concerning the commencement of official negotiations on the de facto restoration of the independence of the Republic of Estonia.

Moscow's response to the objective processes which had unfolded in the Baltic and the Union republics was the enactment on 3 April of a tough law on secession from the USSR.

The situation was influenced considerably by the 11 March declaration of independence by the Republic of Lithuania.

It speeded up processes in the two other Baltic states and influenced to a certain extent the decisions that we adopted.

The congress of Estonia elected in the period from 24 February through 1 March of this year also put forward at its two sessions the idea of restoration of the Republic of Estonia on the basis of succession.

The idea of succession is the connecting link in cooperation between the Supreme Soviet and the Committee of Estonia. The debate that has flared up in recent months concerning relations between the Supreme Soviet and the congress of Estonia reflects the different approaches to the question of correspondence between current realities and principles.

On 30 March the Supreme Soviet adopted the decree "Official Status of Estonia," which recognized the illegitimacy of the state power of the USSR in Estonia from the time of its establishment and proclaimed the beginning of the restoration of the Republic of Estonia. This enactment suspended the Basic Law of the USSR in Estonia, which in fact detached itself from the political system of the Soviet Union. The Supreme Soviet established in Estonia a period of transition to state independence for the purpose of the creation of the necessary economic and political foundations and guarantees.

On 11 April the Supreme Soviet sent an appeal to the president of the USSR. It contained a proposal concerning the immediate commencement of negotiations between authorized delegations of the USSR and the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] for restoration of the independence, political sovereignty, and legitimate state power of the Republic of Estonia.

The law on emblems of Estonia enacted on 8 May began the restoration of emblems associated with the independent Estonian state. This document activated a number of articles of the Basic Law of the Republic of Estonia of 1938.

The law on the principles of the provisional procedure of administration of Estonia enacted on 16 May provided for the subordination of the organs of state power and administration, the courts, and the procuracy to organs of the Republic of Estonia and their detachment from the corresponding system of the USSR.

The same day the Supreme Soviet adopted the decree "Program of the Activity of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet in the Transitional Period up to Restoration of the Independence of the Republic of Estonia and the Provisional Procedure of Administration."

The decree presented our clarified position:

"In relations with the USSR the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet proceeds from the Tartu Peace Treaty concluded between the Republic of Estonia and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] of 2 February 1920.

"The Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet deems necessary the regulation of relations between Estonia and the USSR by way of negotiations.

"The purpose of the preliminary negotiations is determination of the subject matter of the official negotiations.

"The Republic of Estonia advocates as the subject of the negotiations **termination of the occupation and the actual restoration of the independence of the Republic of Estonia.**

"The subject of the negotiations should be the specific paths and conditions of the restoration of independence.

"The Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet does not consider it possible to participate in negotiations on any forms of continuance in the USSR.

"The purpose of the negotiations is the conclusion of a treaty on termination of the occupation and the granting of guarantees of independence and continued good-neighborly relations between the Republic of Estonia and the USSR.

"Problems connected with the restoration of the independence of the Republic of Estonia such as economic and cultural relations between the Republic of Estonia and the USSR, legal safeguards for USSR citizens living in the Republic of Estonia, consular relations, the question of property of the USSR in the Republic of Estonia and the question of property of the Republic of Estonia in the USSR, reciprocal debt, the question of national borders, the conversion of the Republic of Estonia into a neutral nonaligned state, the status of the contingent of USSR Armed Forces on the territory of the Republic of

Estonia in the period up to their total withdrawal within a timeframe stipulated by the agreements which have been concluded, and other matters of mutual interest are to be settled in the course of negotiations with the USSR authorities.

"The Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet will seek consideration of the problem of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania within the framework of the common Baltic question at multilateral international negotiations."

It is from this document that we have proceeded strictly in all subsequent contacts with the leadership of the USSR.

The three Baltic states have united in their aspiration to independence. It was natural, therefore, that Estonia's proposal concerning cooperation being taken to a new level was supported by its neighbors. A decision was adopted at a meeting of delegations on 12 May in Tallinn headed by the chairmen of the Supreme Soviets on the formation of a council of the Baltic states.

The communique adopted at the tripartite meeting emphasizes that relations with the USSR and the RSFSR were and should be based on the bilateral peace treaties of 1920 and the documents ensuing from them. It was affirmed that it would be desirable to conduct negotiations with the USSR on the basis of a concordance of the positions of their participants and no retreat from the principle of independence.

The desire to meet with representatives of the USSR at the top level expressed both separately and jointly was confirmed at a meeting of delegations of the Council of Baltic States in Jurmala on 6 June of this year.

A meeting was held on 12 June of the chairmen of the Supreme Soviets of the three Baltic states and the president and the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. On this occasion our partners were prepared to employ the word "negotiations," although it had hitherto been a question merely of "dialogue" and so forth. Whereas previously there had been discussion on Moscow's part of the possibility of negotiations only following the reversal of the decisions on the restoration of independence, agreement to confine itself to their suspension was now expressed.

A statement adopted at a summit of the Council of Baltic States in Jurmala on 27 July expressed a number of general propositions concerning relations with the USSR. It declares that competent representatives of the three Baltic states have not participated in the elaboration of a Union treaty of the USSR and do not consider it possible to participate in this process henceforward. It is incomprehensible, therefore, on what the assertions concerning some intrigues, participation in the elaboration of a Union treaty, and so forth are based. Inventions and destructive criticism do not, alas, contribute to the achievement of independence.

The statement of the Council of Baltic States proposes a very precise basis for possible agreements both with the USSR and with its republics and other countries—all treaties with them may be concluded only in the event of their being based on the enactments of the Supreme Soviets of the three states concerning the restoration of independence. It is observed that it is advisable to conduct negotiations with the USSR in accordance with the three-plus-one principle or simultaneously, in close coordination. The result of the negotiations should be treaties of a political nature on whose basis agreements concerning relations and cooperation in individual spheres of activity and interests would be concluded. It should be emphasized that solution of the Baltic question by way of the restoration of the independence of the three countries would be one further step en route to the democratization of international relations and the safeguarding of the rights of small peoples.

Relations between the Republic of Estonia and the USSR could develop on two levels which are intricately interrelated—with the central authorities of the USSR and the 12 Union republics of the USSR and also with administrative-territorial entities which are a part of them.

Particular significance for us, naturally, is attached to relations with Russia.

On 14 May the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet adopted an appeal to the Congress of People's Deputies of the RSFSR.

It contains a call for struggle against the pro-imperial approach in the name of the liberty of both countries.

In July we received a telegram from Boris Yeltsin and Ivan Silayev, leaders of the Russian Federation. It mentioned the need for the immediate commencement of the elaboration of a draft treaty between the two republics.

In a return telegram sent on 10 July we expressed a positive attitude toward this initiative. At the same time, however, we do not accept the suggestion expressed in the decision of the Congress of People's Deputies of the RSFSR of 23 July of this year that the foundation of a new Union treaty be laid by a system of treaties.

The development of relations with Russia entered a new phase at the time of the quadripartite meeting of the chairmen of the Supreme Soviets of the three Baltic states and the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on 27 July in Jurmala.

Upon signing the document the Russian side clearly drew a line between contacts practiced with the Baltic states and relations with the other republics of the USSR.

A decision on immediate preparations for the conclusion of bilateral state treaties, between the Republic of Estonia and the Russian Federation included, was adopted at the meeting in Jurmala.

It is anticipated that political and legal agreements on cooperation in the sphere of the economy, science, technology, trade, social issues and international, cultural, and other relations and also agreements on matters of citizenship will have been prepared and signed within six to eight weeks. The parties are setting no prior conditions here. Work at expert level has already begun.

In recent weeks the Estonian population has been hearing and reading frequently pessimistic evaluations of the state and prospects of the struggle for the restoration of our independence. Some people believe that the people are weary of politics, others that the more complex economic and social problems have relegated questions of independence to the background and that, in the words of some people, the people are now simply in a state of disarray on account of the uncertainty of the situation and interparty contradictions.

Indeed, the summer has been a period in which there has been no opportunity for active work with Moscow inasmuch as the attention of the leaders of the USSR has been focused on the Congress of People's Deputies of Russia and the congresses of the Communist Party of Russia and the CPSU.

In this context advancement of the demand for an immediate solution of our problem could most likely have driven us into an impasse since at that time the leadership of the USSR was prepared to consider merely the question of a Union treaty.

People's uncertainty is undoubtedly explained to some extent by lack of knowledgeability. Apprehension that the abandonment of something essential might occur behind their backs could be accompanying this. It is essential to find a compromise solution here—the guidelines should be determined by the decrees of the Supreme Soviet, and the most important individual questions within their framework should serve as the subject of regular discussion in the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the details and tactical steps require real trust in the actual officials. Within this framework the chairman of the Supreme Soviet must enjoy trust also.

For an improvement in the coordination of actions between the legislature and executive it is essential to create a national security council. A political analysis office should be at the disposal of this body.

At the initial stage of the movement for independence the question of the restoration of the Republic of Estonia was for the population far more important than day-to-day concerns. However, as of the present the danger of socioeconomic conflicts has intensified together with the growth of political tension. People's dissatisfaction with the price rises and shortage of foodstuffs has grown in recent weeks. Serious difficulties have been caused by the gasoline crisis.

In this situation a split could emerge in the independence movement, and the leadership could be deprived of its effectiveness and the people's trust.

The government has not been in office long enough for an evaluation of its activity in this field to be made.

One has the impression that the strike committees and other organizations are oriented toward the fanning of social tension and are endeavoring to portray the shortcomings in the economy and social life as a consequence of the independence movement. This danger cannot be underestimated.

A particular part is also being played by the fact that our parties and other political forces are engaged in a serious struggle for popularity and power now on a scale characteristic of democracies which have developed independently over a long period of time. It is essential that we develop common positions on the main questions of independence, which must not suffer from party and personal disagreements.

I hope that the resumed meetings in Kadriorga between leaders of the main political forces and public movements and organizations will contribute to this process. I believe that in the future the people will be able to inquire more frequently of their representatives what specifically they have done for Estonia's acquisition of independence.

Our policy may be purposeful and assertive, but without a prompt and in-depth analysis of reality we will be unable to take the necessary steps in considered manner. We must take account of the prospects of the development of Europe and the world.

The main starting position for negotiations with the USSR and Russia are the treaties concluded between the Republic of Estonia and the RSFSR and the USSR in the period 1920-1940.

Politics always means a search for allies. In order for us to be supported it is essential that we notify the international community, the USSR included, and this will lead to knowledge, understanding, and support. Unfortunately, we have, as before, been unable to convey to a considerable part of the world an idea of our present situation.

The activity of the Estonian Supreme Soviet has reflected the actual changing correlation of political forces and has proceeded from the people's aspiration to restore independence.

For this reason we declined participation in the process of the elaboration and signing of a Union treaty hastily begun in Moscow. Lithuania and Latvia adhere to these positions also, which was confirmed in the joint statement signed by us in Jurmala on 27 July.

For clarity's sake it is now expedient to recognize as invalid a "creature of its time"—the 16 November 1988 resolution of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet "A Union Treaty." As is known, our entreaties for the commencement of negotiations were held up for a long time on account of the position of the USSR leadership

on the question of the reversal or suspension of our decree of 30 March on the transition period.

On 26 July I talked with Grigoriy Revenko, member of the USSR Presidential Council, who on this occasion spoke about negotiations, not mentioning the said problem. We have thus no longer been confronted with prior conditions, although we do not have written confirmation of this. He suggested that we form our delegation and present our negotiating position.

On 31 July I spoke with Grigoriy Revenko once again. It is now possible to hope that a new stage—of negotiations—will really begin in relations between the Republic of Estonia and USSR.

The talks which have been held cannot yet be termed negotiations in the full meaning of this word and may at best be considered a preparation for negotiations. We propose the creation of a state commission for negotiations with the USSR.

Our initial position for negotiating with the USSR is based on two sets of documents. The first encompasses the Tartu Peace Treaty of 2 February 1920 and the subsequent treaties, still in effect, between the Republic of Estonia and the USSR concluded prior to 16 June 1940, and the second set, the decrees of our Supreme Soviet on the restoration of independence.

It is necessary first and foremost to seek the signing of a protocol containing the USSR's recognition of the transitional period which we have proclaimed and the aim of the negotiations—restoration of the complete state independence of the Republic of Estonia—and protocol issues. The result of the negotiations could be a bilateral political and legal treaty and agreements concerning various walks of life.

A complex independent subject of the negotiations is, naturally, the status of the USSR Armed Forces and the termination of our young men's military service in the Soviet Army. The 1939 bases agreement became invalid in 1954, nonetheless, far more of the USSR Armed Forces are stationed in Estonia at the present time than stipulated by the agreement of that time. Our fundamental goal is a nuclear-free and neutral Estonia.

The three Baltic states confirmed in the statement signed on 27 July in Jurmala that they have no territorial, property, and other claims against one another. Simultaneously they addressed to the 12 Union republics of the USSR a request that they communicate separately to each of the three Baltic states the existence of territorial, economic, or other claims. If from each republic no response is forthcoming within a month, this will signify the absence of any claims.

In the event of the Supreme Soviet's approval of this decision, we will immediately send copies of the pertinent document with an accompanying letter to each of the 12 Union republics.

We hope that good relations will take shape between the Republic of Estonia and its eastern neighbors following the restoration of our independence and that we will succeed in establishing really fruitful and mutually profitable cooperation.

Our goal is the well-being and security of all inhabitants of Estonia. Restoration of the independence of the Republic of Estonia will create for this the sole possible prerequisites. I am sure that our people will with the perseverance and purposefulness characteristic of northerners strive for this goal and once again occupy their rightful place among the independent states of Europe.

Estonian, USSR Delegations Begin Discussions

Weekly Meetings Scheduled

LD2308150890 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1420 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Report by Andrey Orlov from Kremlin]

[Text] Moscow, 23 Aug (TASS)—Official talks on relations between the USSR and Estonia began today.

At the meeting here of the two delegations, headed by Nikolay Gritsenko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet commission on Labor, Prices, and Social Policy; and Ulo Nugis, deputy chairman of the Estonian Supreme Soviet, a wide range of issues which will be the subject of discussion at the talks was defined.

Nikolay Gritsenko, head of the USSR delegation, noted in a conversation with your TASS correspondent that "relations with Estonia must be mutually beneficial." It would be premature to predict the outcome of the talks, he said, "but one can already say today that the time of the public rally type of emotion is passing."

Ulo Nugis told your TASS correspondent that "the Estonian delegation has powers from the republican Supreme Soviet to conduct talks on restoration of Estonia's state independence on the basis of the Tartu peace treaty of 1920." Replying to a question about future relations with the USSR, Nugis did not rule out the possibility of Estonia joining the USSR in the future. "But a referendum would have to be held for that," he said, adding that his subjective opinion is that "Estonia will not join the USSR."

The delegations will meet weekly during September and October. Final documents will be submitted to the USSR Presidential Council at the end of October.

Estonian Delegate Reports

LD2408104390 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian
1700 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Excerpts] We will begin with news from Moscow, because there is a weighty reason for this. Ulo Nugis, head of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Estonia, will speak:

[Nugis] This is the first round of official talks between the USSR authorized delegation and the Republic of Estonia's authorized delegation. Even if a few documents which had been proposed by the USSR said that this is a consultative meeting, we clarified the matter: consultative meetings are already behind us and official talks have started.

The atmosphere in Moscow—in the Kremlin—had substantially changed. One can sense a favorable disposition and a wish to find a common language.

We specified first of all that the Estonian side has authorization to speak only in respect of restoring Estonian statehood and even that proceeding from the conditions which have been proscribed by the Supreme Soviet to us [words indistinct]. And we specified that the USSR, via its delegation, has a right to speak on a wider scale than the Union treaty solely. And this factor was highlighted very specifically. And the USSR side recognized this: we have a right to talk to you about other state relations apart from the Union treaty.

Both sides had prepared draft schedules and there were no essential differences on principled issues in respect of the schedules. True, our starting positions were different. The USSR wants to talk to us starting from today's date; whatever there was in the past, let us talk about how we will establish our relations starting from today, into the future. We, however, cannot elaborate our history starting from today's date; it reaches into the past. And this is where differences lie. But those differences—I would still be as bold at the moment as to claim this—may not as yet be of an antagonistic kind.

We specified indeed that there are sides in the talks, and that the sides include Estonia, the republic of Estonia. True, they claimed that as long as the Soviet Union has not recognized the Republic of Estonia fully and completely both de facto and de jure, they would still like to talk about Estonia. Not the Estonian SSR but Estonia. We claimed that our state has a name of its own—the Republic of Estonia—and that we would wish to be called thus. And the protocol which was drafted formulated the issue in a section like this: so long as the talks continue, up until the republic of Estonia is recognized, the USSR in its documents will call it Estonia, but the Estonian side will call it the Republic of Estonia. This is how it went down in the protocol. [passage omitted]

Apart from that we issued a joint communique called "report on the talks", which also specifies that it is clearly the case of talks between parties and that the USSR side sets down that one of the parties is the fully authorized delegation of the Republic of Estonia.

So that those three documents were adopted today: the protocol, the notification of the talks and the joint planned schedule, a calendar schedule, according to which the talks will begin to take place every Thursday. And, well, as said, we suppose we will reach an agreement by 18 October.

Russian Deputies Protest

*LD2308205590 Moscow TASS in English 1845 GMT
23 Aug 90*

[By TASS correspondents Albert Maloveryan and Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tallinn August 23 TASS—Russian-speaking deputies of the Estonian parliament have protested against their non-inclusion in Estonia's delegation to official talks with the Soviet Union, which have opened in the Kremlin today.

Vladimir Lebedev told an extraordinary session of the republican parliament here today that Russian deputies would form a delegation of their own for the talks with the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation.

A group of Russian deputies adopted an appeal to the parliaments of other republics, which says: "The absence of deputies who represent the interests of 40 per cent of the republican population in the delegation compels us to ask the Supreme Soviets of the Russian Federation and other constituent republics to conduct talks with Estonia only if our representatives participate.

"We believe that the negotiating sides should coordinate their stands on the position of ethnic minorities after a possible change in the state system, their legal status on Estonia's territory, forms of the protection of Soviet citizens, citizenship issues, refugees, and other problems.

"Only equitable representation of various groups of the population can create reliable guarantees that agreements that will be achieved will objectively reflect the interests of the whole of Estonia's people."

Estonia's Sillari Criticizes Baltic Meeting

*LD2208200590 Riga Domestic Service
in Latvian 0700 GMT 22 Aug 90*

[Text] Sillari, the first secretary of the Communist Party of Estonia, believes that the meeting of secretaries of Communist Parties in Riga was like a shower of cold water for him. Rubiks [first secretary of Latvian Communist Party] had invited him and [Lithuania's] Burokevicius to come to Riga to exchange information. However, it transpired that in the presence of Union press correspondents, the leaders of the orthodox Communist Party of Estonia, Panfilov and Annus, sat down at the negotiating table. Moreover, in the package of prepared documents the exchange of information, who knows for what reason, was called the Council of Secretaries of the Communist Parties of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. According to Sillari, here for the first time he had had to raise objections; he had not heard anything about the council and therefore he could not be a part of it. As is known, Sillari refused to sign the documents.

Dismantling of Estonian Lenin Memorial Protested

*LD2308152290 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1445 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Report by Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tallinn, 23 Aug (TASS)—Last night a memorial to Lenin was dismantled in the Estonian town of Tartu, your TASS correspondent was informed by representatives of the Tartu unified town and district [uyezd] committee of the Communist Party of Estonia.

As Yevgeniy Udovik, deputy of the town soviet, stated, the town council [duma] has not made any decision about dismantling the memorial, especially since its deputies are on their summer vacation.

Local Communists have taken the dismantling of the memorial as an act of vandalism. The Communists of Tartu and the district have sent a telegram to the office of USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev which says, in part: "We are profoundly indignant at this act of vandalism and consider it a premeditated action by antiperestroyka forces on the 51st anniversary of the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact. We consider it essential that this issue be discussed at today's talks between Estonia and the USSR."

Meetings of labor collectives are due to be held in Tartu today in opposition to the dismantling of the Lenin memorial.

Estonian Supreme Soviet Discusses Border Issue

*LD2308102490 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian
0900 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[From the "Vikerkaia" program]

[Excerpts] We will continue Vikerkaia from Toompea [seat of government], where a session of the Supreme Soviet continues. Over to Gunnar Paal:

[Paal] This morning at 1000, the Supreme Soviet again convened for another session. Deputy Heino Kostabi asked to take the floor first and read out an address to the Supreme Soviet from former Petserimaa [Estonian-Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic border area which belonged to Estonia before the war] citizens who had gathered in front of the Toompea Palace. The address says that along with restoring Estonia on the basis of legal continuity, it is necessary also to resolve the issue of both Petserimaa and the Estonian area. Those lands must as before belong to the Republic of Estonia. The address proposed that a Supreme Soviet commission be set up to deal with the issues of Petserimaa and the areas behind Narva. It proposes the Russian Federation set up a similar commission and to set up an Estonian governmental commission in order to resolve the issues of the borders and the problems related to those areas.

Supreme Soviet deputies decided to go out into the square in front of the Palace in order to meet those who had sent in the address. [passage omitted]

And another matter: Before passing on to the subject envisaged on the agenda, [Deputy] Vladimir Lebedev raised the issue of the Lenin Monument which was removed in Tartu in the early hours of the morning. It was described as a barbaric actions. In Vladimir Lebedev's opinion, the Supreme Soviet should assess this action.

[Deputy] Enn Leisson explained that the removal of the Lenin Monument took place on the basis of the Tartu town authorities' resolution.

[Deputy] Illar Hallaste made a proposal at the beginning of today's session to include the issue of Estonian borders on the agenda of the next Supreme Soviet session. It was decided to discuss this first at a session of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. [passage omitted]

MVD's 'Secession' From Moscow Control Agreed
PM1708123090 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 32, 19-26 Aug 90 p 5

[Report by Natalya Davidova: "Estonia's Militia: 'Declaration of Independence'"]

[Text] Estonia's Ministry of Internal Affairs will now take orders solely from its own government. The "secession" of the Estonian militia took place in a quiet and businesslike manner.

Edgar Savisaar, Chairman of the Estonian Republic's Government, and Vadim Bakatin, USSR Minister of Internal Affairs [MIA], signed an agreement in the Ministry of Internal Affairs on Moscow's Zhitnaya street under which the "superior-subordinate" formula disappears from relations between the Union and republican militias.

Estonia's parliament passed a decision on eliminating its MIA's dual subordination as early as last year. It will be recalled that under the present Constitution the bodies of internal affairs in the Republics are simultaneously subordinated to both their own and the Union government. In this situation, Bakatin said, one could pretend that these decisions have not been recognized. However, the centre preferred a joint struggle against crime and the promise of stability to a conflict with Estonian legislators. "We have done this out of purely practical considerations," he said.

The centre has consented to transfer the militia's financing from 1991 onwards from the Union to the republican budget. The Estonians are now free to decide on the number of personnel, their training and equipment themselves. Although Moscow has kept material and technical supplies, which are still limited, as we know. But from next year even this will take place under new terms - for payment under special agreements. The USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs has also assumed a

commitment to help "in active operations and primarily in the struggle against organized crime, drug trafficking and crimes having an inter-republican and international character", as well as agreeing "to take part in the search for criminals figuring on the all-Union list of wanted persons". The centre has even undertaken to maintain Estonian prisoners until the Republic has acquired its own institutions. The republic has retained the rights to freely use the Union data banks in exchange for the use of its own.

On the eve of the agreement Bakatin received anxious subordinates from Estonian cities - representatives of the Russian-speaking population. As a result, addenda were introduced into the text, guaranteeing that the rights of personnel would not be infringed, among other things, "on the basis of nationality, language and residence".

Bakatin will soon have to negotiate with the other Republics which have announced or are going to announce their sovereignty. "We must reorganize the entire system of relations," he said. "We look forward to a Union Interpol," Edgar Savisaar declared.

Estonian Decree on Relations With USSR Noted
90UN2661A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 9 Aug 90 p 2

["Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet decree: On Relations of the Republic of Estonia and the USSR"]

[Text] Proceeding from the fact that the USSR law of 6 August 1940 "On Admittance of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic as Part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" enacted on the basis of the legally invalid decision of the Estonian State Duma of 22 July 1940 "Declaration on Estonia's Joining the USSR" is totally nonbinding for the Republic of Estonia:

recognizing that the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Constitution no longer regulates state and public relations in Estonia; and

confirming that, in accordance with the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet decree of 30 March 1990 "On the Official Status of Estonia," neither the USSR Constitution nor other subsequent laws of the USSR may serve as a basis for the regulation of relations with the USSR, the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To take as the basis for negotiations with the USSR the peace treaty concluded between Estonia and Russia on 2 February 1920 and other valid agreements concluded with the USSR up to 16 June 1940 and also the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet decree of 12 November 1989 "Historical and Legal Evaluation of the 1940 Events in Estonia"; of 23 February 1990 "Preparation for the State Independence of Estonia"; of 30 March 1990 "Official Status of Estonia"; and of 16 May 1990 "Program of Activity of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet in the Period of Transition up to the

Restoration of the Independence of the Republic of Estonia and the Interim Procedure of Administration."

2. To approve the cooperation of the Baltic states in the complete actual restoration of their state independence, proceeding from the principles expressed in the Statement of the Baltic States of 27 July 1990.

3. To recognize as invalid the resolution of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet of 16 November 1988 "The Union Treaty."

4. To appoint a delegation for negotiations with the USSR and to determine its authority by a decree of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet.

5. To recognize that the presence of the USSR Armed Forces on the territory of the Republic of Estonia violates the sovereignty of the Republic of Estonia and is contrary to international law inasmuch as their status in Estonia has not been defined by agreements between the Republic of Estonia and the USSR.

[Signed] A. Ruutel, chairman of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet

[Dated] Tallinn, 7 August 1990

Estonian Inter-Movement Radio Scheduled To Open

LD2308161490 Tallinn RAHVA HALL in Estonian
16 Aug 90 p 1

[Article by Peeter Raidla: "'The Voice of the Inter-Movement' Will Start Broadcasting on the Radio"]

[Text] Representatives of the Inter-Movement announced yesterday that starting from next week the "Voice of the Inter-Movement" radio station will begin test broadcasting. The melody for the signature tune has been borrowed from Petr Chaykovskiy. Broadcasts will be on the air daily between 0630-0800 and 1830-2000. The programs can be received on short wave (25 m). The location and power of the transmitter have not been specified, but it is said that the whole of Estonia has been considered.

One can therefore expect a mass propaganda campaign.

Troop Movements on Latvian Territory Announced

LD2408104490 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian
0430 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] The Baltic Military District Armed Forces Command reports that in accordance with the staff and armed forces' training plan, at the end of August and the beginning of September this year, there will be staff civil defense training on the territory of the Baltic Military District. During the training it is planned to move the command posts of army units, and communications and supply subunits throughout the district's territory.

Baltics Hold Talks with Tyumen Oil Trust

LD2208161390 Riga Domestic Service
in Latvian 1730 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Text] To further firm up the principles of direct economic links between the Baltic states and the Union republics of the USSR, a (?talk) has been held between representatives of establishments of energy, construction, and transport of the Baltic states and the management of the Kogolymneftegaz of the oil extraction trust of Tyumen Oblast of the Russian Federation.

In this distant region of Siberia, Latvian road builders have been carrying out construction work for some 10 years now, to promote the opening up of the oil and gas deposits there. The management of the petroleum trust is very interested in the Baltic people who are known there for the high quality of work, continuing the construction. In exchange for this, they are offering guaranteed delivery of petroleum and its products. During the talks, unfortunately, contradictions appeared, including some between the Baltic states themselves. As a result, no concrete agreements were reached. Only a protocol was signed on a bilateral undertaking of future collaborations.

Regional Leaders Seek Direct Economic Ties

904D0559A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 8 Aug 90 p 2

["Report on a Meeting in Tallinn of Heads and Representatives of the Governments of the Belorussian SSR, the Latvian Republic, the Lithuanian Republic, the Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldova, the RSFSR, the Estonian Republic, the Moscow City Council, and the Leningrad City and Oblast Council]

[Text] A meeting of heads of government of the Latvian Republic, the Lithuanian Republic, and the Estonian Republic and representatives of the governments of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], and the Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldova, and also of the Moscow City Council and the Leningrad City and Oblast Councils, took place on 5 August 1990 in Tallinn city at the initiative of the government of the Estonian Republic.

During the meeting, and also during the preparatory consultations with the chairman of the government of the Estonian Republic on 4 August, the basic directions were determined for a system of direct interregional ties and the development and strengthening of economic integration.

Those attending the meeting agreed that the foundation of political sovereignty should be economic sovereignty, and, just like political mutual relations, economic mutual relations should be built exclusively on principles of equality.

During the course of the discussion it was noted that realization of direct ties between sovereign states, republics, and regions is being hampered because of the existing system of USSR legislation regulating relations between economic entities. Those present at the meeting emphasized the need for a principled reexamination of this entire system with the switch to contractual bases for mutual relations, where the right of empowered decisionmaking in all matters is being shifted to the level of the contracting parties.

The practice of setting up on the territory of sovereign states and republics intersector associations of enterprises subordinate to the USSR, along the lines of the Integral, was discussed at the meeting. Those attending the meeting shared the concern of the government of the Estonian Republic, where that kind of association has already been set up, and where the government has proposed that the USSR Council of Ministers rescind its order No. 1045 dated 2 July 1990. Those present at the meeting agreed that they would return to this issue if the need arises.

It was declared at the meeting that only by means of free initiative on the part of each sovereign republic and each region are positive changes possible in the economy. In this connection those attending the meeting appealed to the governments of republics to convene an economic meeting of heads of governments of republics in Tallinn in the near future to discuss questions pertaining to the establishment of direct economic contractual cooperation as a first stage in the transition to the principles of a common market or other forms of direct economic cooperation on a mutually profitable basis.

[Signed] M. Myasnikov, deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Belorussian SSR State Committee for Economics and Planning.

I. Godmanis, chairman of the Latvian Republic Council of Ministers

K.-D. Prunskene, prime minister of the Lithuanian Republic

G. Kelugeru, Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldova minister of construction

D. Dudnev, deputy chairman of the RSFSR State Planning Committee

E. Savisaar, chairman of the Government of the Estonian Republic

A. Chubays, deputy chairman of the Leningrad City Soviet of People's Deputies Executive Committee

A. Belyakov, deputy chairman of the Leningrad Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies

Ye. Kotova, chairman of the Moscow City Soviet of People's Deputies Standing Commission on Economic Policy and Enterprise

[Dated] Tallinn, 5 August 1990

Air Force Pilot Averts Accident in Baltic

OW2108213690 Moscow Television Service in Russian
0830 GMT 18 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Tomorrow is Soviet Aviation Day. An emergency situation occurred on the eve of this day at one of the naval airfields on the shore of the Baltic Sea. In the urgent circumstances in which the engine failed, Military Pilot First Class Guards Captain Chernykh refused an order from the controller to eject. Our Kaliningrad correspondent, Stanislav Chekalin, has the details. [Video shows Tu-22 "blinder" bombers sitting on airfield, an air traffic controller seated at instrument panel]

[Begin recording] [Chekalin] Here is the airfield. And from here in the command and control point, the order was given to eject. How did it happen?

[Flight Operations Officer A.L. Vlasov] Right after takeoff, at an altitude of 20 or 30 meters, flames from the afterburners suddenly extinguished and engine noise died. I looked up and realized that something was not right. Instead of ascending, the aircraft began to descend. There is a city located at the end of the airfield. There was no time to think. I gave the pilot the order: choose a spot to eject.

[Chekalin] And at that moment you could not hear the engine noise, right?

[Vlasov] Right. It was virtually inaudible.

[Chekalin] All in all then it was a very alarming situation.

[Vlasov] Very alarming. Practically everyone who was in the command and control point at the time jumped up and recognized the dangerous situation. [Video shows fuselage of Su-17 aircraft, fire truck moving along runway, instrument panel in air control tower, pilot seated in cockpit, descending from cockpit for interview]

[Chekalin] The silent flight over the city by that black specter with heavy torpedoes hanging underneath the fuselage was terrifying. The pilot, Captain Viktor Mikhailovich Chernykh, kept pressing the after burner button; suddenly it came to life, and the aircraft was steadily and powerfully thrust forward.

Captain Chernykh is again in flight; while we wait for him, ground technicians report that the first reaction to this incident from Moscow headquarters was to punish him for failing to eject. But Viktor was calm; he considered his actions the only correct ones. In fact, here he is in person, back from his flight. [Video shows Chernykh descending from cockpit, giving interview]

What was the most unusual thing you experienced when the incident occurred?

[Chernykh] There was a quiet wind along with the engine noise and then suddenly an abrupt silence and rapid deceleration. That was the most unusual thing.

[Chekalin] Was it frightening?

[Chernykh] Yes. It was very unexpected and very frightening to tell you the truth.

[Chekalin] I find myself thinking willy-nilly, that a person's life is more valuable than a piece of equipment. Was it worth it to take such a risk?

[Chernykh] I do not know. Pilots are trained, in the first place, that they must fight to the last to save their aircraft. Second, when I received the command to eject, I saw the city below: there were new apartment houses down there; it was evening, and everyone was at home. I do not know how many people might have died for the sake of my life. Therefore I decided that while the plane was still functioning, while it was still possible to try, I would stay to the end. That is, at least fly a little farther from the city. [Video shows close-up of pilot's helmet, canopy closing on cockpit with Chernykh seated in aircraft, aircraft being towed along runway]

[Chekalin] For his courage Chernykh was awarded a valuable present on the eve of his holiday, and today he is accepting congratulations. [end recording]

RSFSR

Reportage Continues on Yeltsin's Russian Tour

Visits Okha, Offshore Rig

LD2308133990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0500 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] The head of the Russian parliament arrived this morning in Okha, an oil workers' town on Sakhalin. From there he headed by helicopter for an offshore drilling rig. Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin took an interest in the state of work on the Sakhalin shelf and the problems involved in tapping it.

In the afternoon the chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet plans to visit the Rybnovsk seaboard on Sakhalin, where the Nivkhi, one of the small peoples of the island, live and the settlements of oil, gas, and forestry workers.

Views Sakhalin Living Conditions

LD2308195790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] Today Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, visited the north of Sakhalin in the region of the town of Okha as a continuation of his trip around the republic. Our special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko reports

[Omelchenko] A modern offshore drilling rig, where workers have high productivity and excellent living conditions, and the town of Okha with its unsightly five-story buildings, its food problems and its isolation from the world. It took only two hours by air to cross the island

from south to north, and after changing to a helicopter we landed at the settlement of Rybnovsk. This settlement is becoming ramshackle; it looks as if no one owns it and it lacks the attention of the authorities. In it, if one would wish to do so, one could open up a gold mine—they have the most tasty Siberian salmon and excellent red caviar, but they also have a school, which is collapsing and cold in winter, an empty shop, and quicksands instead of asphalt. These are the contrasts that the head of the Russian parliament saw on his trip around Sakhalin today. Economic life is at an impasse, and today the islanders decided to take improving the state of affairs into their own hands—Sakhalin is preparing to become a zone of free enterprise. Individual initiative of every worker and manager will be the basis for its success. On the whole, during this trip Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin has looked in amazement at those who—as in old times—try to ask for subsidies and demand assistance. He listens to businesslike proposals with pleasure, goes to the heart of the matter, and collects information in order to take decisions later. Some of his own views are changing as well. In particular, with regard to Sakhalin.

[Begin Yeltsin recording] Sakhalin is rich, and Sakhalin is, as it were, the eastern outskirts—the border of Russia. Despite the fact that efforts to make it inhabitable have been going on for many decades, living conditions are rather complex. The economy should not be developed with such distortions here. That's why the Russian Supreme Soviet has now adopted a decision to grant Sakhalin the status of a free economic zone. This status is being worked at, it will be discussed at the oblast session, and then the proposal will be submitted for final ratification by the Russian Council of ministers. Sakhalin residents will then be presented with very broad opportunities. Above all, they can show their abilities to manage. Once they have this freedom of action in Sakhalin, it is necessary to attract foreign investment here for setting up joint enterprises, and it is necessary to expand the work here quickly in order to supply gas as soon as possible, including to the Far East which now suffers a lot due to shortage of fuel. On the whole it will give an opportunity to set up [word indistinct] that is in a rather poor state today. [end recording]

[Omelchenko] Well, tomorrow morning Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin will hold a phone-in conference with the fishermen of Sakhalin Oblast, then he will go to the settlement of Bykov, to the Dolinskaya mine and the Dolinsk pulp and paper plant. Then he is expected at the Sinegorsk mineral water sanatorium. The second half of the day will be spent in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk. A meeting with the city's workers and public and a press conference with journalists will take place there.

Supports Developing Offshore Oil

LD2308165590 Moscow TASS in English 1602 GMT
23 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Belovitskiy]

[Text] Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk August 23 TASS—Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin, who is on a working tour of the Russian Federation, today visited the northern part of Sakhalin. A major oil and gas producer, this region is crucial for many branches of the far eastern economy.

Yeltsin supported Sakhalin oil-men, who favour using foreign capital in the development of off-shore oil deposits. Land deposits, which have been developed for some 100 years now, cannot increase their output, while available technology does not allow Soviet specialists to start full-scale oil production on the shelf.

The Russian Federation president said the right of local enterprises to deal on the foreign market will give good impetus to the development of the region.

"The decision of the Russian Federation parliament to grant the Sakhalin region a free economic status will also help achieve this goal."

Tomorrow is the last day of Yeltsin's stay in the Sakhalin region. It will be capped by his meeting with representatives of all parties operating on the local political arena.

Examines Kurils Issue

LD2308224990 Moscow Television Service in Russian
2025 GMT 23 Aug 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin is continuing his tour. One of his stops is the Kurils.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent V. Feotistov] The head of the Russian parliament is flying to the islands around which hot political passions have recently been raging. In neighboring Japan they are called their lost northern territories and their return is considered the main condition for signing a peace treaty between our countries. A few Soviet parliamentarians and publicists believe that these claims are just or propose various variants for co-ownership of the southern Kurils. But an incomparably larger number of our compatriots regard the Kuril Islands as lands which have been Russian from time immemorial and categorically object against their handover to Japan in any form. The very first meetings on Kunashir started with questions about the fate of the Kuril Islands. [video shows Yeltsin meeting soldiers; then in Kunashir walking away from airfield accompanied among others by Feoktistov, who interviews him among a crowd]

[Feoktistov] Tell us, there are rumors going around here that you allegedly intend to hand over the islands to the Japanese, and rumors about some joint enterprise. What could you say in this connection?

[Yeltsin] Well, my point of view is as follows. I was in Japan when I said that we should break up this question into five stages.

First, official recognition that such a problem exists. Psychologically this will be good for the Japanese and for our people.

The second stage is concluding a treaty between Russia and Japan without laying down conditions about the Kuril Islands. Japan agrees to this.

The third stage is proclaiming Sakhalin Oblast, the Kurils, an economically free zone, that is to say, a zone of free entrepreneurship, which we have already done.

The fourth stage is the demilitarization of the islands.

And these four stages will take, say, 15-20 years.

Twenty years from now there will be new leaders in our country and in Japan and perhaps there will be some new brains and new ideas will emerge. Let them decide then, and today we do not have to place a full stop. That is all.

[Feoktistov] Boris Nikolayevich...

[Yeltsin] And that people may feel confident here.

[Feoktistov] Unfortunately, it was not possible to implement the program for further familiarization with the Kurils. Typhoon Zola is swiftly approaching Kunashir and somewhere in the region of Taiwan a gigantic new atmospheric storm has formed. Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin has returned to Sakhalin, where tomorrow he will continue his strenuous work. [video shows Yeltsin saying good-bye to officials and climbing into plane, and then arriving back in Sakhalin] [end recording]

Sakhalin Itinerary Noted

PM2308133690 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 Aug 90 Second Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent N. Bratchikov: "Treasure Islands"]

[Text] Sakhalin Oblast—B. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, stepped down from the aircraft and answered journalists' opening questions on the aim of his visit to Sakhalin:

"These are the furthestmost areas of Russia. It is in precisely these areas that the solution of the problems of Russia's economic and cultural rebirth must be accelerated."

Glancing at the itinerary of B. Yeltsin's three-day visit to Sakhalin you will see the following: visits to a Kurils fishery, the Okha oil industry, border troops, miners, paper workers, agricultural workers... However, from the very beginning the vagaries of the weather changed that. Having arrived on the unique island of Kunashir, that jewel of the Kurils chain, a region where the Far East's vast floating "city" fishes for herring and sardines, Boris Nikolayevich was forced to change his itinerary: Further progress to the sea was barred by an approaching

typhoon. So instead of the fishermen the visit had to begin with the Pacific Ocean border troops.

...However, the dense shroud of mist over the water could not cloud the urgency of the local fishermen's problems.

"We import everything on our island, even down to nails. Charges for transport, fuel, and equipment grow and grow before our very eyes," V. Shcherbakov, director of the South Kurils fishing combine, complained when meeting with B. Yeltsin. "Consequently our fishing combine, the only one on Kunashir, ekes out a meager existence."

On the day of the departure for the Kurils chain, the oblast newspaper SOVETSKIY SAKHALIN published the draft "Statutes of the Sakhalin Oblast Free Enterprise Zone," adopted at a joint session of the oblast soviet executive committee and presidium. It is a guideline for the "Sakhalin experiment" which Professor V. Fedorov, elected by the Sakhalin people as chairman of the Sakhalin executive committee, has been conducting on the island for four months now. Some people like the idea of free enterprise, others are still dubious and are thinking about it. And it is no coincidence that in conversations people asked B. Yeltsin a host of questions connected with the market economy and prospects for cooperation with foreign firms. What will the ordinary worker gain from that? Will foreign capital not overwhelm him?

B. Yeltsin spent yesterday afternoon in Korsakov, where he met with fishermen of the ocean fishery base and visited the Far East's first cheesemaking plant.

Today the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet left for northern Sakhalin—to visit the Okha oil workers.

Continues Sakhalin Island Trip

PM2308/140590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 23 Aug 90 First Edition p 2

[Report by special correspondent A. Ryabov: "In Island Oblast"]

[Text] Sakhalin Oblast—B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, is continuing his acquaintance with the Far East. Yesterday he visited Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk—the center of Russia's unique island oblast. The main part of the day was spent visiting Kunashir island, which is part of the Kuril Islands.

Compared with the territory of Russia the Kuril Islands may seem a random chain of tiny pieces of dry land amidst the boundless expanses of the Pacific Ocean. But recently there has been an unwanted increase in the interest displayed in them by politicians and businessmen. The world press has again started to raise the question of their historical ownership. It is no secret that the new eruption of talk came during B.N. Yeltsin's recent trip to Japan. But it is by no means connected with the established fashion of particular territorial

claims. The trouble is that the Kuril Islands problem which is now being artificially blown up is becoming a substantial delaying factor for their inclusion, like Sakhalin Oblast as a whole, in a zone of free economic enterprise and is preventing the creation of an atmosphere of friendliness and mutual trust in this region.

Yet serious, fundamental changes in the life of the Kuril people are undoubtedly necessary. The many years of monopoly rule of the fishing and fish processing industry has led to a drastic aggravation of economic problems, the lowering of the islanders' living standard, and considerable distortions in demographic and social policy. The need for peaceful mutually advantageous cooperation among the peoples of the Pacific seaboard has long been urgent. This has frequently been stated at various levels. In fact no advances are taking place. During his visit to Yuzhno-Kurilsk B.N. Yeltsin stressed that the Russian government intends to make every effort to finally resolve this problem and to create all necessary prerequisites for emerging from the impasse which has taken shape.

In the afternoon the chairman of the republic's parliament visited the city of Korsakov. There he visited an ocean fishing base and the Far East's first cheese making plant, which workers with progressive foreign manufacturing methods.

Discusses Problems With Farmers

LD2408062190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0330 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Excerpts] [Zorin] We should now have a conversation on a direct radio channel with Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk. Our special correspondent, Sergey Omelchenko, is there. He is covering the tour by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. Sergey, you are at the possible end of our country. Panorama is listening to you.

[Omelchenko] Yes, I am reporting to you from the largest island of the Union. [passage omitted] In general, the day began in the style traditional for high-ranking visits in past years: a conference at the office of the chief of Sakhalinrybprom [Sakhalin fisheries industry]. Admittedly, this conference was unusual, conducted by radio, and Boris Nikolayevich made contact and conversed with all the vessels of the Sakhalinrybprom association, which are now fishing in the most diverse parts of the world oceans. The fishermen's problems, which have not been tackled for years, bore down with renewed vigor on the chairman of Russia's Supreme Soviet. He had also spoken to fishermen in Vladivostok, Nakhodka, and here in Korsakov. Now he made contact by radio switch with literally all the world's oceans, and people poured forth questions: Sakhalin's decrepit, fraying fisheries fleet, hard working conditions, poorly equipped facilities for the fishermen's everyday life and, at the same time, the very high profits tax, which makes it impossible to plug all these holes. This is the problem currently facing the industry. Boris Nikolayevich said

the fishermen's problems will be examined at the second Congress of Peoples RSFSR deputies, when the republic's food program will be discussed.

Here in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk during the radio meeting with the fishermen, Boris Nikolayevich recalled yesterday's visit to the poverty-stricken settlement of the native people of Sakhalin, the Nivkhi, the settlement of Rybnovsk. Forgotten by God and the authorities, Nivkh and Russian fishermen, who deliver the tastiest chum and red caviar to the all-Union table, eke out a miserable existence.

After his talks with the Sakhalin fishermen, Yeltsin spoke harshly about the state of the Nivkhi's fishing farms with (Nikolay Grigoryevich Ryazanov), chairman of the Union of Collective Fishing farms. Here is an extract from that conversation:

[Begin recording] [Yeltsin] ...complete neglect.

[(Ryazanov)] The settlement, this farm, has passed from one owner to another five times. Every two years it passes on and changes its owner, and the structure changes. Everything remains as it was. [passage omitted]

[Yeltsin] You should find forms which give them an interest, which enable them to be independent and, ultimately, mean such a monopoly does not operate. Let them work. Give them some section of the sea and a quota or something else, give them a certain favorable tax, so they have the possibility of living somehow. They cannot at the moment.

[(Ryazanov)] They can't, and in future...

[Yeltsin, interrupting] They cannot live like this. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Omelchenko] [passage omitted] From Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, the chairman of Russia's Supreme Soviet is now proceeding along the terrible local roads, which have been washed away by the incessant rain, to the miners of Sakhalin in the settlement of Bykovo. Naturally, he will congratulate them on the holiday which is coming up this Sunday. He will also visit pulp and paper works, which is old and still functioning. In the afternoon there will be meetings with deputies, businesspeople and representatives of Sakhalin's public organizations and workers' movements. Sakhalin is preparing to become a free enterprise zone, and there will be a mass of questions for discussion.

Tomorrow the chairman of Russia's Supreme Soviet will already be in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy in Kamchatka which is the next step of the tour.

This was your special correspondent, Sergey Omelchenko, reporting from Sakhalin.

Gorbachev Greets Kalmyk People on Anniversary

LD2408090990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0800 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, USSR president, has sent a message of greetings to the Kalmyk ASSR Supreme Soviet in which he congratulated the Kalmyk people and all the working people of Kalmykiya on the 550th anniversary of the "Dzhangar" epic poem. It ranks alongside "Odyssey", "The Lay of Igor's Host", "Manas", and "the Knight in Tiger Skin", expresses the age-old hopes of the Kalmyks and embodies the best features of their national character. The poem has always been an inspiration to the Kalmyk people during their roamings in the vast expanses of Asia, in the severe years of tsarism, and during the dismal time of the Stalinist exile from the native steppes.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev wished the Kalmyk people success in perestroika and in asserting a new free and happy life on their native soil.

Russian Secretary Polozkov Receives Communists

PM2208145490 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 11 Aug 90 Second Edition p 1

[Report by V. Pinigin: "Seeking Advice From the Secretary"]

[Text] Since it was announced in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA that I.K. Polozkov, first secretary of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Central Committee, would be receiving visitors, the Central Committee has received more than 350 telephone calls. The first reception was held last Wednesday. Henceforth it will be a regular weekly event.

Like any other reception given by a senior official, this one was not without personal requests. But people were more often concerned with broader economic, political, and social problems. L. Ignatov, an associate of one of Moscow's research institutes, for example, believes that it is both possible and necessary to more rapidly convert a considerable proportion of capacity at enterprises manufacturing tanks to the production of mini tractors for peasant holdings and individual plots. In the opinion of N. Shirokov, a member of the All-Union "Memorial" Society, it would make sense to invite representatives of various social movements, including "Memorial," to the second stage of the RSFSR Communist Party Constituent Congress. Joint work at the congress would perhaps make it possible to bring different positions closer together.

Other subjects discussed included the nuclear test site at Semipalatinsk, the publication of memoirs by the country's former leaders, a documentary movie on the RSFSR Communist Party, and the Commission for Material Assistance to Repressed Communists.... And with almost every visitor the conversation got onto the

subject of the Russian Communist Party, its difficult birth, and its immediate future.

A. Armyagov, chairman of the council of primary party organization secretaries of the All-Union Institute of Lightweight Alloys, his deputy I. Tsipovich, and N. Malyshev, secretary of Kuntsevskiy Rayon party committee, for example, came to seek advice about the present situation. Many Communists are leaving the CPSU. The main reason for this is that they reject the results of the constituent congress. The council of secretaries has appealed to comrades to wait for the second stage before they make their final decision. However, the lack of information on preparations for this stage is working against the Russian Central Committee.

I.K. Polozkov said that the RSFSR Communist Party Program Statement is now being drafted. It is based on the draft democratic platform of reformist Communists. A Central Committee plenum is going to be held in a few days' time. The program statement will be submitted for discussion by Russian Communists and then delegates will meet again for the congress.

Prokofyev Interviewed on Moscow Communists' Plans

PM2308093090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Aug 90 Second Edition pp 1,2

[Interview with Yu.A. Prokofyev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of Moscow City CPSU Committee, by A. Ilin and Yu. Kazmin: "Are There Any Communists in Moscow?"—place and date not given]

[Text] [PRAVDA] I would like to begin with a question to you, Yuriy Anatolyevich, as first secretary of the Moscow CPSU City Committee [gorkom]. The capital's party organization perhaps reflects more clearly than others the state of affairs in the party as a whole. How would you describe the current situation in the city CPSU organization? There was much talk, in particular, to the effect that the exodus from the CPSU would increase after the 28th congress. There were demands for the convening of an extraordinary party conference and so on. Have these theories and rumors been borne out? What is the gorkom doing to stabilize the situation?

[Prokofyev] I would very cautiously say that the Moscow City party organization reflects the state of affairs in the party as a whole. On the other hand, many social processes occur first in Moscow and after a while spread throughout the country. Life in the capital is politicized first and foremost. In this sense, it is twice as hard being an organization with capital status. On the one hand, a multitude of unconventional situations has arisen in the capital under the influence of tumultuous social processes. On the other hand, much of what the Moscow party organization is doing today is not immediately appreciated in the party as a whole. Indeed, in the capital itself, not all the primary organizations are moving as quickly as one another along the path of renewal.

For example, the pre-congress debate theme of the place and role of the party in the political structure of a society that is undergoing renewal and of ways of democratizing it was "suggested," if one can put it like that, by the party organizations of Moscow University, the aviation institute, and a number of major industrial enterprises and research institutes in our city. The results of the debate were reflected in the documents the capital's Communists took with them to the congress.

What is more, they were worked on by delegates from our city party conference, rather than by the apparatus, in secret. At any rate, the delegates' club had the last word. And this helped our delegation at the congress to achieve positive results—the Moscow Communists' proposals formed part of the CPSU Program Statement and of the new CPSU Statutes.

Now for the exodus from the party. In conditions where its role and functions are changing and given the polarization of political beliefs, this process is obviously inevitable. In Moscow, 27,000 people left in the first half of the year, while in July approximately 19,000 left. One-half of them are workers, one-fourth are members of the intelligentsia, and one-fourth again are pensioners. But the number of people leaving for political reasons remains small. I think one must also mention some other figures—people joining the party. Without new admissions the picture would be incomplete, after all, the process we are talking about is not a one-way street. In the same six-month period around 7,000 people, practically one-half of them under 35, joined the party.

Most of the people leaving the party are people who joined it for career reasons. People who joined not because of ideological beliefs, but were drafted in—it did happen—have not been reluctant to leave either.

I am convinced that what is "abnormal" for the party is not the fact that party members who were not Communists anyway are leaving the party. What was abnormal was the way people used to be admitted to the CPSU. Everyone now has the opportunity, in multiparty system conditions, to make a choice. But the party must also have the guaranteed right to protect itself in these conditions. For example, against those who are trying to preserve the ambiguous situation where people are apparently party members, but, at the same time, they say they have nothing to do with its ideology and urge it to disband and be auctioned off. There is a tough political struggle going on at the moment. And a "fifth column" on the books is, to put it mildly, an intolerable luxury in this struggle.

There is something I must say on this frankly difficult topic. Reports of how many people have handed in their party cards and where, and where it has been decided to eliminate party committees, have an increasing element of schadenfreude. Now there are even "leading lights" whom others are being incited to emulate.

Now, following the congress, the intentions of many who only recently were saying that they were "in the vanguard of the party's democratic transformations" are clear at last. It is not a matter of congress results, of course; they were of little interest to them and could change little in the chosen tactics to cause the party's disintegration. They were confident that the congress would move to the right. The congress took a leftward course and the party is undergoing a democratic transformation. This is indisputable. So they are trying to take people with them—whether by personal example, organization, or a mass exodus, no matter.

These tactics could have some success, of course. Particularly if we continue to discourage different viewpoints and different approaches from showing themselves within the party. Just as an economic monopoly leads to stagnation and a philosophical and ideological monopoly in politics is dangerous. In fact, the existence of different viewpoints and currents in the party makes it possible to elaborate and adopt optimal decisions. I believe this is a kind of energy reserve for the party organism.

[PRAVDA] In what areas are the efforts of the capital's Communists primarily focused now, following the 28th CPSU Congress?

[Prokofyev] I would pinpoint, perhaps, two areas. The first is, undoubtedly, propaganda of party congress decisions. Perhaps it is an old cliché, but what is definitely needed is propaganda and the elucidation of 28th party congress decisions, above all the program statement, the statutes, and political and other resolutions. After the congress I visited several labor collectives and talked with people. Unfortunately, many things have been misunderstood and misinterpreted, sometimes deliberately distorted, in fact. The conservative factor is laid on thick. Congress antipropaganda is employed and it has to be countered with well-honed, systematic, and, if you like, patient ideological work by party organizations. Without it the congress decisions will not acquire substance and will not turn into concrete actions.

Second, we consider it extremely important to define the place and role of the party, above all, of course, the primary party organizations, in resolving very serious socioeconomic problems. One must not withdraw into oneself and engage in purely intraparty work. That way one might lose one's authority among the people for good. At city level we intend to put forward a specific action program at the second stage of the party conference.

Certainly work must continue on the consolidation of the party itself and the whole of society. Let us continue to look for the things that unite us with representatives of the Democratic Platform, so-called reformist Communists, with those of them who remain in the party, and with representatives of the Marxist Platform, rather than those things that divide us. Let us conduct a dialogue

with the other currents that occupy centrist and center-left positions, but do not preach extremist ideas. It is necessary to overcome the fragmentation of radically minded democratic currents in the CPSU.

[PRAVDA] It is no secret that relations between party committees and soviet bodies are of decisive significance today. But in the capital itself they are not taking shape in optimal fashion, to put it mildly. Yet the situation in the city economy and in social and other spheres of life demands joint efforts.

[Prokofyev] As you know, the "Democratic Russia" bloc won the Moscow Soviet elections. It has the largest number of deputies' seats—around 300 out of nearly 500. Initially, there certainly was a feeling of tension with regard to the party gorkom. I believe this was due to the fierce skirmishes that were a feature of the election campaign. The high political emotion and passion carried over to the first session of the Moscow Soviet. But now the situation is changing somewhat. We are collaborating normally with the Moscow Soviet leadership. At any rate, we are finding a common language and an appreciation of the main demand: It is consolidation, not confrontation that is the guarantee of success in the solution of the city's complex problems.

The gorkom is showing itself to be fully prepared to cooperate in tackling specific questions. For example, the harvesting situation in Moscow Oblast is rather complex. We are acting jointly in this area, coordinating actions. The Moscow Soviet adopted a decision on assisting the Moscow Oblast countryside. Accordingly, the party gorkom bureau appealed to Communists to participate actively in this. Party committees are engaged in organizational work and agitation in labor collectives and in city organizations and among students.

There is, though, a small but energetic group of people in the Moscow Soviet who adopted patently anticomunist stances. But this is not the bulk of deputies. They are making waves, but they are not having a decisive effect.

[PRAVDA] Does your election as Politburo member help to resolve the contradictions that arise or does it make it hard to find a common language? Particularly as the chairman of the Moscow Soviet and a number of its other leaders have left the CPSU....

[Prokofyev] It is hard to give clear-cut answers to this question. After all, I only recently joined the Politburo. All I can say is that I am sincere in my wish that nothing should adversely affect our relations with the Moscow Soviet. Practical qualities should be their barometer, not membership of a particular political organization. It is actions and results that are important. The gorkom will always support what the Moscow Soviet is doing and intends to do in Muscovites' interests. Incidentally, particularly as far as the city's socioeconomic problems are concerned, there are no disagreements at all when it comes to establishing priorities and ways of tackling them. All the "rough patches" our relations have been through in the past have been of a purely political nature.

As for Moscow Soviet leaders leaving the party, I think it is their business. I would not dispute anyone's right to take an independent step in life. It is a normal political self-determination process.

[PRAVDA] In your view, in what way should the renewal of the party manifest itself? Does it boil down to structural perestroika, reduction or replacement of the apparatus, creation of new associations of Communists—secretaries' councils, party clubs, and so on? Or are we talking about entirely new approaches to party work?

[Prokofyev] First and foremost, we must not reorganize mechanically, reduce the apparatus for the sake of it, and create new structures. It is necessary to start by changing the party's functions and its work methods. The theoretical, ideological, political, and organizational functions are laid down in the program statement. Of course, they are general approaches. They have to be concretized and adapted to the changed political situation and it is necessary to find a place for party organizations in society.

Perhaps this is one of the most difficult tasks, because it affects stereotyped ways of thinking that were established over decades, when the party was essentially not so much a political organization as a machine of government. In it everything was very well orientated toward organization and implementation of decisions made by the upper echelons of power. Now, with authority restored to soviets and state organs, the party is acquiring a different purpose and is beginning to function as a political organization. The party apparatus has to fit these functions and it has to be formed so as to implement them.

Elected party organs must also be reinforced with new structures, such as, for example, a conference of primary party organ secretaries at city and rayon level. These formations could operate to some extent in tandem and help one another. The apparatus has perhaps two functions—forecasting and analysis, and auxiliary. At any rate, that is how we currently see the future structures in our city organization. Work will be organized not on a sector basis, which is what we are used to, but by spheres of activity, by social groups. For instance, on questions of the workers' or women's movement.

Party institutions are also working in the new way. For instance, meetings, roundtables, and political debates are being held at the Moscow Gorkom social and political center and representatives of various currents and public associations are participating in them. For example, representatives of the Marxist Platform in the CPSU, the reformist Communists, and the interclub party group. It is also the workplace of the 28th city party conference delegates' club.

We are currently setting up a Moscow political institute based on the University of Marxism-Leninism and our party worker training establishments. It will handle the retraining of party cadres, but will also do political work

with Communist deputies, and also scientific research. That is, it will study public opinion and make political forecasts.

The Moscow CPSU Gorkom and Moscow CPSU Oblast Committee [obkom] Institute of Party History has been reorganized—it is now the Moscow Scientific and Information Center of Political History. In addition to party history, its sphere of academic interests will include other political movements—past and present.

The reorientation of party organizations to work in people's places of residence is also essential today and is one way in which the party fights for votes and for deputies' seats in soviets. We intend to restaff territorial party organizations so that they comprise not only Communist pensioners, but people working in local schools, polyclinics, militia stations, trade and consumer services institutions, and so on.

[PRAVDA] There are many workers among those who are leaving the CPSU's ranks. How can this be explained, and what steps are the gorkom, rayon committees [raykoms], and primary party organizations taking to halt declining party authority in labor collectives and strengthen links with the working class?

[Prokofyev] There are several reasons, I think. The main one is that the CPSU, acting as the party of the working class, as the protector of its interests above all, has in fact been paying less attention to it in recent years.

For example, there are practically no representatives of the working class or individual workers in our local soviets. Workers are very poorly represented among city conference and congress delegates. This is not because there are no suitable people among them. It is just that party committees did not support them in difficult election campaigns. Formerly this was not necessary—all the jobs were allocated; but they either failed to take the new situation into account or were unable to operate in it.

The second reason is that it is the workers who have gotten least of all out of perestroika. Wasn't this bound to cause negative attitudes toward the party? Isn't it this that caused the strike movement to occur here?

How are party committees supposed to regard it and what position are they supposed to adopt? My own answer to these questions is as follows. The workers' just demands must be actively supported, even if this means involvement in strike action, although this is an extreme measure. In fact, when party committees distance themselves from the workers, fail to ensure that the authorities' promises are kept, and do not take the workers' side, they are alienating themselves from labor collectives and are losing their influence in them. I am sure that in present conditions a party organization must give the government, soviets, and economic leaders support if their actions benefit the people and act as a constructive opposition if they result in negative social consequences.

Well, of course, active work is needed in trade unions, in self-management organs and labor collectives. In other words, party organizations must overcome the syndrome of the past, whereby they were often obedient appendages to the administration.

[PRAVDA] How are your relations with the intelligentsia?

[Prokofyev] I believe the city party organization has a perfectly normal relationship with the creative intelligentsia. Although here too much still needs to be changed and much needs to be reassessed. The main thing, it seems to me, is that we have realized in time that we have to stop trying to impose our own opinion and our will. It is necessary to have a dialogue. Incidentally, this is very usual in terms of self-development, after all the intelligentsia is the social group that is the most sensitive to changes in society.

[PRAVDA] What are the Communists doing to organize their relations with other social and political movements? Various platforms and political currents—both within the CPSU and on another organizational basis—have “headquarters” in Moscow. There are also organizations which, to be frank, are fighting against our party.

[Prokofyev] So far we have established a work practice, perhaps, only with those movements that developed within the actual party. A differentiated approach is needed toward other organizations. After all, there are patently anticommunist groups among them. There can be no contacts with them, of course. They show their true face by putting psychological pressure on people at rallies and by vilifying Communists. You do not have to look far for an example of this. On 15 July there was one of those rallies. Democratic slogans were accompanied by essentially fascist views and beliefs. How else would you describe the calls for hanging and physical violence against people?

Public movements putting forward radical, progressive action programs are now being formed. We have a mutual desire to find a common language and cooperate with most of them. There are, for example, socialist movements and organizations of various hues, liberal democrats, representatives of the so-called “Blue Movement,” ecological groups, the Union of Democratic Forces named for A.D. Sakharov, and so on.

[PRAVDA] You mentioned the July demonstration at which there were very strong attacks on the CPSU. PRAVDA readers ask: Why can we not hear the voice of the capital's Communists? Some are even blunter: Are there any real Communists in Moscow?! S. Korniyukh, for example, wants to know why the capital's party organization is not holding counter-rallies.

[Prokofyev] We get these questions as well. We ask ourselves these questions. It must be made absolutely clear that these meetings are very highly orchestrated. We know from our own experience how skillful they are at keeping Communists away from the microphones or

drowning them out, although the hypocritical rally organizers then ask where all the party members were hiding.

We do not consider it expedient to organize our own counter-rallies. There is no need for a pitched battle and we do not want to split the city into warring groups. We can and must propagandize our policy by working in labor collectives, at people's places of residence, and via the media.

It must be said, however, that we did carry out work among the rally participants. For example, more than 50,000 leaflets prepared by the party gorkom were distributed at the last demonstration. Apparatus staff, our aktiv, and agitation workers were at the rally. They marched in the procession, communicated with people without disguising who they were, explained party policy, and on occasions entered into heated debates.

[PRAVDA] Are the Moscow Communists preparing proposals on program documents for the second stage of the Founding Congress of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Communist Party?

[Prokofyev] At the second stage of the congress the intention is to examine and adopt an action program, elect more Central Committee members, and elect a Central Control Commission. A number of Moscow delegates are already engaged in work to prepare documents and proposals. We propose to discuss them extensively at our delegates' club.

We will also nominate representatives for central organs of the republic's Communist Party. We will probably do this at the end of August and in September. We will assemble the congress delegates and decide, by a secret ballot, which of those who were named in primary party organizations and then at the city party conference we will ask to represent the Moscow Communists, in accordance with our allotted quota.

The second stage of the city party conference is planned for the end of October. The nomination of candidates for the gorkom will end before that in rayon party organizations. Again we will start with primary organizations.

The delegates' club is starting or, rather, reembarking on its work even now. The bulk of city party conference delegates will participate in the preparation of its decisions.

Polozkov Meets Officials in Leningrad 21 Aug

Speaks to Party Veterans

*LD2208165190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1400 GMT 22 Aug 90*

[Text] The visit to Leningrad by Ivan Kuzmich Polozkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party, comes to an end today. Here is some information presented by our correspondent Matvey Frolov:

[Frolov] Comrade Polozkov spent three days on the banks of the Neva. During this time he visited the Bolshevik Works, the Agrobalt joint agro-industrial enterprise, and met with the party aktiv of the city and oblast. The work of party organizations in the new conditions was in the center of attention of all discussions. In particular, Ivan Kuzmich noted that the present situation in the Russian Communist Party is characterized by the fact that although the Communist Party has been proclaimed it has not yet fully taken shape organizationally. We are ready, Comrade Polozkov said, to listen to remarks and to receive suggestions, and we gladly cooperate with everyone who holds the Russian Communist Party dear.

Comrade Polozkov met with party veterans today. People spoke sharply on the role of Communists, perestroika, the democratization of society, and on the reasons for the abrupt abatement of the party's authority. By the way, in the Leningrad PRAVDA newspaper a draft program of actions by the RSFSR Communist Party was published for discussion today. Here are the words of Ivan Kuzmich Polozkov spoken at today's meeting with party veterans.

[Begin Polozkov recording] Our first conclusion is that we have to recognize today the existence of political pluralism. Let us be realistic. Another thing is what position Communists, party organizations, the Communist Party, and the CPSU as a whole should occupy regarding such things as liquidation, the elimination of the class-based approach, private property—in other words, regarding these issues which are mentioned. We are not planning ideological disarmament; we have to make our position clear for the working people, to reach a clear-cut elaboration, and to make this position clear through the mass media, through deputies groups, meetings, and meetings with people. We have to use all means. And, well, if our program has many facets, if those sides are hospitable, then various groups of the population will be attracted to its warmth, even those who think differently—youth, women, veterans, scientific and creative intelligentsia. Only then will our party be able to carry out its mission and tasks. If we act in a way that will not attract but will alienate all the diversity extant in our society, then, forgive me, our party will lose the future. Let us, finally, agree with this, with this reality and let us work more actively and more constructively in such conditions. [end recording]

Visits 'Agrobalt' Enterprise

PM2408115790 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Report by S. Dukhavin and A. Kulikov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Comrade Polozkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Central Committee, is in Leningrad.

[Reporter] The previous day the visitor met the city and oblast party aktiv, and working people at the Bolshevik Plant. Today he familiarized himself with Agrobalt. [video shows fields, harvesting equipment] This is an unusual enterprise for the countryside. It was set up by the Baltic Steamship Company and the oblast agricultural administration. They bought state-of-the-art potato-harvesting equipment from the Netherlands, introduced imported equipment, and proceeded to amaze their less well-off neighbors. Whereas last year the average potato yield for the oblast as a whole was 145 quintals per hectare, Agrobalt produced almost 200. And this year they are planning to harvest 300 quintals per hectare. Comrade Polozkov inquired about profitability—after all, many hundreds of thousands of dollars have been invested in the farm. It turns out that all is well in this respect too. Whereas last year one-third of all potatoes harvested in the oblast, as is usual, rotted away in the city's poor storage facilities, here at Agrobalt the entire harvest can be kept in perfect condition until next spring. The microclimate in the storage areas is computer-controlled. As far as the benefits go, these potatoes will now be supplied to all the company's ships. In the very near future, when the meat processing shop is commissioned, it will also supply quality cold meats. In short, the prospects are tempting. [video shows empty storage facility] The only sad point is that many farms—those without rich hard-currency sponsors and whose fields and vehicle pools have not yet been touched by the advanced thinking of Soviet science and technology—do not share these prospects.

Stresses CPSU Unity

LD2208225490 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1715 GMT 22 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Rachko]

[Text] Leningrad, 22 Aug (TASS)—"Although three days are too short for a trip, I have many reasons to regard its results as satisfactory," said Ivan Polozkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first secretary of the Russian Federation Communist Party Central Committee, to the TASS correspondent. Today he ended his sojourn in Leningrad. "I did not expect to find general support here. Another thing is important—I have learned a lot that is new to me, and have met interesting people," the party leader said.

Polozkov met party functionaries and active members, workers, engineers and servicemen. Leningraders have an equivocal attitude toward the creation of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party. Nevertheless, they showed a lively interest in its program, place, and role within the CPSU.

Having once again confirmed that the party headed by him "is an integral part of the CPSU," the first secretary of the Central Committee stressed "the RSFSR Communist Party's adherence to the socialist choice, the Communist prospect, and striving to defend the achievements of the October Revolution." He drew party

members' attention to "the coming-to-life and strengthening of anti-socialist and anti-Communist forces," something that should be taken into consideration in the political struggle.

Ivan Polozkov thinks that the main thing today is to prevent a split within the CPSU. He came out for cooperation with other parties and public movements and for the envigoration of the work of Communist deputies in soviets.

In the opinion of Boris Gidasov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of the Leningrad Oblast Party Committee, the leader of RSFSR Communists "has managed to destroy the image of himself as a reactionary and conservative painted by the press and representatives of some pseudo-democratic movements."

Russian Journalists Union Founding Congress Opens
*LD2208175690 Moscow TASS in English 1739 GMT
22 Aug 90*

[By TASS correspondent Lev Aksenov]

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—Can the Russian Federation be imagined without Moscow or Leningrad? It would seem that this is impossible. But in the opinion of the organisers of the founding congress of Russia's Journalists Union, opened here today, this is possible.

There are no journalists from the two largest cities of the republic among almost 400 delegates of this forum. They refused to participate in the congress' work and are attending the forum only as observers.

Participants strayed from the scenario to open the congress, which was prepared by the organising committee headed by Viktor Novikov, director of the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA publishers, right from the first minutes.

As soon as the discussion of the draft agenda was opened, delegates proposed to address pressing issues that are uppermost to mass media executives. Among such problems is the arbitrary rule of union agencies, distributing the press, above all the Communications Ministry, which increases by the voluntarist decision the cost of newspapers and magazines.

Delegates also called to attend numerous social problems of journalists, which remain unresolved. Their incomes lag behind the rise in the cost of living. The discussion of these acute problems was included in the agenda.

Why do journalists need a new union? There was no lack of statements to the effect that the founding of the Russian Union "is one link in the political reform" in the report by the organising committee, which was delivered by its Chairman Viktor Novikov.

True, the report also mentioned "perestroika crusaders" exploiting the press for selfish purposes. But delegates did not hear an integral plan of the future union.

Mikhail Poltoranin, Russia's mass media minister and USSR people's deputy, sorted out things to some extent. He explained to TASS that he did not regard the forum as a congress.

"The governing board of the USSR's Journalists Union has formed a working group, which was charged with elaborating a plan to found a republican union. This plan is to be submitted for consideration to the founding conference," Poltoranin said.

"The conference should set up an organising committee to prepare for the congress. But the working group voluntarily proclaimed itself an organising committee and launched preparations for the congress. As a result, delegates from the largest journalists' organisations do not attend the congress. The head of the organising committee does not have a mandate from Muscovites, who do not participate in the congress," Poltoranin added.

The congress is expected to last for three days.

Several New Parties Being Formed in Leningrad
*LD2108165790 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0825 GMT 21 Aug 90*

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Ganshin]

[Summary] Leningrad, 21 Aug (TASS)—A northwestern section of the Free Democratic Party of Russia [svobodnaya demokraticeskaya partiya rossii] has been set up here. The Free Democrats include former CPSU members, and advocate the right to existence of all parties, within the framework of the constitution.

The inaugural congress of the Humanist Party [gumanisticheskaya partiya] took place in July. The first congress of the Republican People's Party [respublikanskaya narodnaya partiya] is planned for the fall. The "Greens" now have more than 150 members and primarily concern themselves with investigating abuses by the land commission of the executive committee of the Leningrad Oblast Soviet, "where a whole system for bypassing ecological requirements was set up."

The coordinating council of the Democratic Platform in the CPSU has taken upon itself the powers of an organizing committee for the creation of a new party—the Russian Party of the Democratic Platform [rossiyskaya partiya demokraticeskoy platformy].

The Petersburg Monarchic Center [peterburgskiy monarkhicheskiy tsentr] which announced its existence on 19 May, is seeking supporters. The National League [natsionalnaya liga], which aims at strengthening the

rights and interests of Russian entrepreneurs, is preparing for the 1994-95 elections. The Youth Liberal-Democratic Party [molodezhnaya liberalno-demokraticeskaya partiya], which considers itself an alternative to Komsomol, has defined its main task as providing young people with the opportunity to develop normally.

Trade Unions Federation Chairman Interviewed

PM2308084690 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 17 Aug 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report on interview with I. Klochkov, chairman of the RSFSR Independent Trade Unions Federation, by unnamed correspondent; place and date not given; published under the rubric "Topical Interview": "Federation Gathering Momentum"]

[Text] "Russian trade unions are nearing the final stage of their constituent congress organizationally stronger and capable of ensuring real protection for working people's interests," I. Klochkov, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Independent Trade Unions Federation, said. In a conversation with your TASS correspondent, he said that the second, final session of the congress, which is to be held in Moscow on 18-19 September, will sum up the results of forming the federation and decide its tactics for the coming period. (The first session of the congress was held in March of this year).

"The skeptics, who predicted that the formation of the federation would move slowly because people at local levels supposedly still have a poor understanding of the nature of the new trade union center and the fundamental differences between it and existing structures, have proved to be shortsighted," I. Klochkov stressed. "The plenum of the RSFSR Independent Trade Unions Federation Council held in July stated that it incorporates some 70 territorial and sector organizations representing the interests of more than 45 million Russian trade union members. The formation of the federation is continuing: Since the plenum, trade unions in Leningrad (3.7 million members), Tyumen Oblast (1.6 million members), Bryansk, Kostroma, and Maritime Kray have expressed a desire to join the federation....

"Of course, the constituent congress in spring had the right to declare all Russian trade union organizations members of the RSFSR Independent Trade Unions Federation. If it had taken that decision, however, it would be pointless to talk seriously about perestroika in the trade unions. After all, the principle of democratic centralism (and this has been confirmed by years of experience) runs counter to the very nature of trade unions. The founders do not agree with a mechanical approach to forming the RSFSR Independent Trade Unions Federation and favor the idea of trade unions joining and leaving the federation on a voluntary basis.

"After the congress broke off work for six months, trade union organizations and labor collectives in the republic

began an active discussion of its fundamental documents. It is, of course, still too early to sum up the final results of this referendum of sorts; nevertheless, one thing is clear: The principles on which the federation is based—voluntary membership, equal rights, and independence—are finding increasing understanding and support in Russia.

"The past six months have shown," I. Klochkov said, "that the federation's independence of administrative, economic, and party structures and its desire to conduct a constructive dialogue with the government of the country and the republic are not empty declarations but everyday practice. An interregional trade union conference on the socioeconomic problems of the north held in Murmansk under the federation's auspices met with a great response from the public. Measures are being taken to protect the interests of people living in Russian oblasts contaminated by radiation as a result of the Chernobyl catastrophe."

Chemical Plant Explodes in Ufa, Evacuation Begins

Cause To Be Examined

LD2308150590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1356 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] The following report has just come in from TASS: A new installation producing phenol acetone at the Ufa synthetic alcohol works has blown up during the start of work. Despite the efforts of firemen the fire burned all day. As a result 25 people have received serious burns and injuries. Eleven of them have been taken to the republic's burns center. Doctors are worried about the condition of two people. Water supply taps have been turned off in residential houses and enterprises producing foodstuffs have been brought to a stop. Phenol has gotten into the River Ufimka from which water is taken for the needs of the city with its million-strong population.

(?Turyanov), Bashkiria's minister of public health, has said that residents of Novyye Cherkassy have been urgently evacuated. It is situated 15 km from the works. The wind has carried dangerous products of combustion and hydrocarbons in its direction. Signs of phenol poisoning have been observed in some firemen and people who were situated close to where the explosion happened. The residents of Blagoveshchensk, in the direction of which the wind might turn at any moment, have been warned of the possible danger.

The causes of the incident will be established by a special commission.

Water Supplies Cut

LD2408120190 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0928 GMT 24 Aug 90

[By correspondent Raul Turkhvatullin]

[Text] Ufa (Bashkir ASSR, Urals) 24 Aug (TASS)—Reconstruction work has begun at the synthetic alcohol works, where an installation producing phenol acetone blew up on Thursday. An emergency commission has been set up in the Ufa City Soviet, in which Soviet and trade union staff, leading specialists of medical and nature preservation institutions are part. By their decision, today has been declared a non-working day for most enterprises and institutions in the southern part of the city.

According to the latest information, after the explosion 110 people were hospitalized. Most are firemen who took part in putting out the fire which raged for over five hours. In the opinion of doctors, the condition of three people is giving cause for serious concern.

Two-thirds of the city, which has a population of one million, are without water today. The city's water intake has been turned off—a whole blend of various chemical mixtures was washed by the foam of dozens of fire engines throughout the whole day from the territory of the petroleum chemical works into the river Ufimka, which supplies the city with its drinking water.

Clean drinking water has been brought efficiently in special tanks to bakeries and other enterprises producing foodstuffs, and the transport of produce from other regions of the republic has been organized. All medical institutions and first aid centers have been switched over to working in emergency situation conditions. Four thousand patients are being evacuated urgently from Ufa hospitals to outside the city limits.

"This is not the first such accident in Ufa," Aldzhet Turyanov, minister of health of the Bashkir ASSR, reminded the TASS correspondent. "At the beginning of April, untreated drainage waters from the Khimprom association, which produces herbicides and is situated next to the culprit of the present accident, got into the city's water intake. Almost two-thirds of the inhabitants of the city were in a disastrous situation then—for a long time they used drinking water which was contaminated to a high degree by phenol and its derivatives. Through the negligence of the leaders of the enterprise, people were told of what had happened only on the third 24-hour period after streams of poison, causing acute illnesses of the kidneys, liver, and cancer, had been poured out of store-houses flooded by spring-tides. But the lesson has not been learned."

Smolensk Reactor Closing Blamed on Pipeline Burst

PM2308073590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by A. Pokrovskiy: "What Happened at the Smolensk AES?"]

[Text] As IZVESTIYA has already reported, Power Unit No. 3 at the Smolensk AES [nuclear electric power station] recently underwent routine maintenance. Following this repair work the reactor was shut down.

"During hydraulic tests one of the pipeline circuits was damaged and feedwater [konturnaya voda] seeped into a sealed compartment," the editorial office was informed by A. Kontsevoy, chief of the USSR Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation and the Nuclear Industry's Main Control Administration. "A special system for collecting and diverting such seepages had been designed into the compartment. The water that leaked from the damaged pipeline was collected and channeled into the processing and cleansing system. There was no pollution of compartments over and above permissible norms, and the personnel received no radiation."

On the international AES incident severity scale, which comprises seven levels (details of the scale were given in IZVESTIYA No. 216), this incident is being provisionally classified at level one—"insignificant."

A commission has been set up to examine the reasons why the pipeline burst.

Chechen-Ingush Supreme Soviet Views Sovereignty

LD2208171290 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1430 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Remarks by D.G. Zavgayev, chairman of the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, place and date not given, from the "Vremya" newscast presented by Leonid Elin—recorded]

[Text] [Elin] The third session of the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet has completed work in Grozny. Dokul Gapurovich Zavgayev, chairman of the republican Supreme Soviet, speaks about the session's results.

[Zavgayev] We examined a number of problems that are extremely important for our republic. A declaration on sovereignty is one of them. We examined that draft in standing commissions, and extensive debates unfolded at the session itself; however, we did not adopt a final decision. We agreed to submit the draft declaration to a nationwide discussion, to consult the people once again—taking into consideration the fact this is, after all, an epoch-making document for us.

What would I like to say about our session and the corps of deputies? We are pleased with our deputies' political maturity, their vigor, and their striving to search for original and unconventional approaches toward solving different problems—we succeeded in this to a considerable degree. All the issues are solved democratically at the session. Representatives of many public movements and various formations available in the Republic participated in the session's work. There were representatives of soviets of different levels. The media were present in large numbers. The republican population was fully informed on the session's progress. The session's documents are being published and broadly discussed today; they have evoked increased interest among the population. In this situation, we were somewhat astonished and upset by the report in the Vremya program the other day,

alleging that our session had passed almost in secret—that there had been no glasnost. That was not the case, and there obviously was no need to present our session as some clandestine meeting.

[Elin] We, journalists, are often accused of going over the top. But this time, unfortunately, it is Comrade Zavgayev who has clearly gone over the top. The thing is that in the Vremya program we reported different views by some of the deputies who attended the session—and our correspondent also reported that the session had not been relayed on local television. Our report did not contain any mention of any clandestine meeting.

Krasnoyarsk Kray Soviet Elects New Chairman

*LD2308210190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] The extraordinary session of the Krasnoyarsk Kray Soviet has ended.

Questions connected with the transition to market principles of management were discussed. Deputies put forward their program of a way out of the crisis.

Many interesting proposals were approved by the session on the new structure of authority of the kray soviet of people's deputies.

It was decided to move away from the stereotypes which have evolved whereby the first secretary of the kray committee of the CPSU combined this party post with the post of chairman of the kray soviet.

As a result of secret ballot, Sevastyanov, dean of the Siberian Technological Institute, was elected chairman of the Krasnoyarsk Kray Soviet of People's Deputies.

Tomsk Obkom Abolishes City Party Committee

*PM2208140090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2*

[Report by A. Solovyev under the rubric "IZVESTIYA Correspondents on Events in the Country": "Obkom Abolished Gorkom"]

[Text] Tomsk—By a decision of the oblast CPSU committee [obkom], the city party committee [gorkom] has been abolished in Tomsk.

Questions of changing and reducing the structure of party organs were debated for over a year on the initiative of the Communists of Tomsk's instrument plant. A party referendum was carried out in spring: What should be retained in the city—the gorkom or the raykoms [rayon party committees]? There were slightly more supporters of keeping the gorkom. However, a poll of primary party organization secretaries gave a different result. The final decision was postponed until the city party conference scheduled for October.

The gorkom favored remaining itself as the center of Tomsk's sociopolitical life and abolishing the raykoms,

replacing them with councils of secretaries. The obkom bureau submitted a different proposal to the plenum: To do away with the gorkom and keep the raykoms, which are more accessible and closer to the primary organizations, especially the small ones.

The obkom is prepared to take on the functions of the gorkom. There were other variant solutions to the party crisis, but they were of a theoretical nature and were dictated by the desire for self-preservation.

After heated debate the obkom members conducted the vote. The obkom bureau's proposal was adopted by a small majority. The Tomsk Gorkom has been abolished, but it still has to report back to the city's Communists.

Mass Grave Discovered in Tula Oblast

*PM2308114690 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Aug 90 Second Edition p 6*

[Report by correspondent N. Kireyev: "Burial Site Discovered"]

[Text] Tula Oblast—Systematic and painstaking work to rehabilitate the victims of the repressions of the thirties, forties, and early fifties and to uncover the sites of mass burials is being carried out by the USSR KGB Administration for Tula Oblast.

Thanks to this, hundreds of innocent people have had their good name restored. The other day Tula security officers discovered one such dreadful graveyard in a forest area in the region of the Tesnitskiye camps.

Organs of soviet power, the prosecutor's office, and the local historical education society Memorial have been informed of this fact. An inquiry is under way.

Move Seen To Combat Speculation in Altay Kray

*PM2308085090 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 18 Aug 90 Second Edition p 4*

[Report by TASS correspondent V. Pavlov: "Monitored by Deputies"]

[Text] Barnaul, 17 Aug—Emergency measures to combat speculation throughout the kray were announced today by the Altay Kray Soviet of People's Deputies Presidium. This decision was taken at the demand of the labor collectives of large industrial enterprises which have recently been swept by a wave of warning strikes. These strikes were prompted by the shortage of tobacco products in state stores, the introduction of alcohol coupons, and the broad range of these goods available on the black market.

The increase in speculation has become a serious problem and is a factor in the deterioration of the sociopolitical situation in the kray. Altay Kray has already registered twice as many speculation cases as last year. The battle against speculation is being led by people's deputies. They have organized monitoring points in stores and at plant and factories producing

foodstuffs and industrial goods and are carrying out spot checks on bases and warehouses.

Tax, Price Levels Hurt Siberian Farm Cooperative

*PM2208150590 Moscow Television Service in Russian
0830 GMT 20 Aug 90*

[Report by N. Vidonov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Reporter] Although there are many different cooperatives in the Angara basin now, not one of them resembles the Biolog cooperative. The cooperative has been set up by Sergey Vasilyevich Kaverzin, a biologist by training and until recently a scientific and higher educational establishment staffer. It is a family-run cooperative. Its members include Sergey Vasilyevich's wife Natalya Nikolayevna and their son Ivan, an independent and businesslike young man. The cooperative is based on an apiary. It is an unusual apiary. All the beehives are heated. After all, this is Siberia. The biologist's activities are highly diversified, but the main objective is the introduction of new, waste-free agricultural technologies. Another important objective is the cultivation of nontraditional crops and plants in East Siberia. A small experimental nursery has already been set up, comprising trees which are rare in this area—Ussuri barberry, Manchurian oak, and japonica. And that is not all. The cooperative members have leased 100 hectares of land from the neighboring sovkhoz [state farm]. On this land they have already begun to grow crops which are unusual for Siberia or have fallen into disuse. And also buckwheat. They are also cultivating new varieties of nectariferous plants to enhance the yield from the apiary. They are developing their facilities, settling down, and acquiring machinery. Generally speaking they would like to stay here for good. Although there are enough problems and troubles right now, and tomorrow....

[S.V. Kaverzin, chairman of the Biolog cooperative] In order to set up a solid peasant farm which would operate more efficiently than a sovkhoz unit, just like a private farm should, a lot of money is needed, a lot of equipment is needed. It is understandable that money is short. Unfortunately, we are having to buy everything at completely crazy prices. I will give you an example: A sovkhoz pays 15,000 rubles [R] for a combine harvester, but I have to pay R30,000. And so on and so forth. From a small tool to major machinery.

[Reporter] If this continues, a good initiative may be killed off.

[Kaverzin] This may well happen. The Supreme Soviet is burdening us with both taxes and prices and our farm could easily perish. Unless changes are introduced in legislation—the Supreme Soviet has to bring in a less rigid system—I will not be able to survive for long, two years at most. There are many cooperative members like me, who are literally on the brink of bankruptcy.

[Reporter] But you hope that things will change?

[Kaverzin] Well, yes, the Supreme Soviet has promised. In August an extraordinary congress is to be held devoted to us farmers and peasants. We are pinning our hopes to it.

Agricultural Equipment Damaged, Stripped En Route

*OW2108213390 Moscow Television Service in Russian
0830 GMT 19 Aug 90*

[Report by V. Kovalchuk from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Theft on the railroads is the theme of the following report from our Amur Oblast correspondents. [Video cuts to show technician working on combine broken down in the field, broken down farm machinery in a rail yard, small trucks with significant body damage being off loaded from train cars]

[Kovalchuk] A combine breaks down, not such a rare occurrence during the harvest. Sometimes it costs the equipment operators several hours or even days of stopped work. Most often this is because spare parts are not available. It never even occurs to many agricultural workers that they would have far more spare parts if it were not for the fact that the oblast agricultural equipment services use them in ways for which they were not designed: in order to restore agricultural equipment shipped on the railways from various parts of the country which is missing parts or which, speaking plainly, has been stripped of parts by thieves.

One of the most recent shipments arriving at Bere-zovskaya Station on the Eastern Transbaykal Railroad is mindboggling, even for the most experienced representatives of the transport militia. After all, how was it possible to cripple to such a degree the new passenger automobiles? [Video cuts to show interview, technicians repairing delivered equipment, machinery with windows smashed out, with instrument panel ripped out and cabin stripped of parts]

[Begin V.I. Chmutin, chief of Amur agro-industrial supply, begin recording] I consider that in the regulations governing shipments it is necessary to shift the responsibility of the parties so that if equipment arrives with parts missing or in disrepair, the railroad and the supplier will bear the responsibility in such a way that it would be unprofitable for them. Second, there is the suggestion that when we receive machinery in disrepair or with parts missing we should be able to take what we need directly from railroad equipment which is in good repair and not missing any parts. This way they will experience what it is like when equipment arrives with parts missing and learn how much additional expense this causes. [end recording]

Novolipetsk Plant Runs Own Fish Farm

*PM2208100790 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 17 Aug 90*

[Report by O. Bobin from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Here is a reportage about an industrial plant's fish farm.

[Reporter] We did not film these sturgeon in the Volga estuary. They no longer thrive there. On the other hand it is no problem to buy good fish at the Novolipetsk metallurgical combine. And thousands of workers do so at the end of their shift. [video shows workers buying fish]

The plant's fish farm, which like the other plant shops has its own number—74—produces fresh output daily.

Sturgeon and carp are native to our waters. But what about this exotic fish, why do you breed it?

[V.N. Sevryuk, fish breeder] This is a promising warm-water fish. And since we have warm water here, we have tried to breed it. We have achieved a certain amount of success. In 1986 we sold between five and seven tonnes against 30 tonnes this year. It is economically more advantageous than traditional types of fish. Therefore we are concentrating more and more on it.

[Reporter] Where does it normally live?

[Sevryuk] It is an African fish.

[Reporter] What does it taste like?

[Sevryuk] It tastes like our carp without the bones. Generally speaking, it belongs to the perch family. It is being bred in such highly developed countries as Japan and Sweden. It is attracting more and more attention in the United States.

[Reporter] How much fish do you market per day?

[Sevryuk] At the moment we market between 1,200 kg and 1,500 kg per day.

[Reporter] The quality of the fish here is very high, of course. It is biologically clean fish, is it not?

[Sevryuk] Of course, there are no pesticides or any other pollutants here. The water undergoes a biological purification process, subsequently the water passes through sedimentation tanks. We also add river water during the final stage before the fish is marketed. Very clean river water.

[Reporter] It remains for me to recall a Russian proverb: "Fish is good on someone else's plate."

Strained Relations Affect Tuva Mining Industry

PM2308131090 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1430 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Report by Yelena Kozlova and Cameraman S. Yermak from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] "Mining Conflict"—that is the title of the latest report from Tuva by our correspondent Yelena Kozlova.

[Kozlova] [Video shows workers at open cut mining machinery] Tuva has never engaged in sociological research on such a scale as its current project. Workers have been polled at virtually every enterprise about how they will act if the situation deteriorates further. At the Kaa-Khemskiy Open Cut more than 97 percent of the workers said they would leave. If relations are normalized they will stay. Only three percent will stay regardless of the circumstances. [Video shows V.V. Tropin, director of the Kaa-Khemskiy Open Cut]

In this situation it must be hardest for the enterprise's leaders. How will things turn out?

[Tropin] Well, to be honest, the political situation here is serious. Currently at the Chudanskiy [as heard] Open Cut there are virtually no specialists left. Some have already gone, some have given notice. Most people are in this unenviable position.

[Kozlova] [Video shows mining operations] Collectives at 14 enterprises in Kyzyl have appealed to their ministries to allocate areas for them in Russian-speaking parts of Russia, demanding that they be classified as refugees and supported by the funds that Tuva obtains in the form of subsidies. The heat and electric power station, Tuvakobalt, and open cuts are on the brink of closure. The distortion of nationalities policy for Tuva began at the time of its affiliation to the Union. Specialists descended on Tuva from all over the country, leaving the indigenous population to play a supporting role. They did not support the Tuvinians' desire to engage in ethnic trades or production. The social and ethnic tension has produced a rise in crime and a deterioration in ethnic relations.

Vladivostok Hit by Second Natural Calamity

LD2208105590 Moscow TASS in English 0955 GMT
22 Aug 90

[Text] Vladivostok August 22 TASS—The city of Vladivostok, still reeling from Typhoon Robina, has been ravaged by another natural calamity.

The sky over the city was overcast with dark storm clouds late on Tuesday. By this morning, according to reports, extensive parts of the Lugovaya and Sportivnaya streets had been fully flooded. Water had damaged telephone lines, cutting off 2,000 phones in the city, cutting off power supplies to trolleybuses and trams and destroying a stretch of the railway leading to a thermal power station that produces the city's electricity.

Pacific navy sailors were the first to respond to the appeal for help from the city council. Liaison services are operating at all military units to ensure effective interaction with the city authorities.

Showers have complicated matters with power supplies to the railway, the city station's Chief Engineer V. Litvishko told TASS. Coal and fuel oil are in short

supply. The local coalfield is flooded to such an extent that bulldozers stick in the mud.

Sailors are helping clear the rails from sediment and operate rail switches. Trams are again operating on the outskirts of the city.

The situation, however, is still very serious: the precipitation level has reached 150 millimeters over the past 24 hours and the showers show no sign of abating.

New Sakhalin Weekly Newspaper Published

LD2308221590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
2130 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Summary] The first issue of the weekly newspaper SVOBODNYI SAKHALIN [FREE SAKHALIN] has been published. Its founder and publisher is the Sakhalin Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies. Among other things, it contains the draft status of the Sakhalin free enterprise zone.

New Transmitters Beam Leningrad TV to Siberia

LD2308141390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1100 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Summary] Henceforth it is possible to receive Leningrad television programs in Siberian towns of Shadrinsk and Kurgan with the help of additional television transmitters. There are plans to provide all towns of the Kurgan Oblast with Leningrad television broadcasts.

Western Republics

Rally in Ukrainian City Calls for 1 Sep Strike

LD2308203390 Moscow TASS in English 1953 GMT
23 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—An unauthorized 250-strong rally in the Ukrainian city of Drogobych on Wednesday called for a citywide strike on September 1 as a vote of no confidence in the Ukrainian parliament, officials at the Soviet Interior Ministry's press centre told TASS. Demands made at the meeting included the dismantling of a monument to Soviet founder Vladimir Lenin in the city.

A total of 2,580 Crimean Tatars continued living in 19 tent camps in the Crimea on Wednesday in a protest designed to highlight their demand for land sites to build homes, press centre officials said.

They also reported that some 500 people took part in a spontaneous public rally in the Kirov borough of the City of Kirovograd to demand action by local authorities to improve roads and solve the area's ecological and economic problems. The rally was held after the police recovered the body of a seven-year-old boy who had drowned in a water-filled pit in the locality.

Communist Ideology Banished From Schools

90P50062A Moscow TRUD in Russian 21 Aug 90 p 1

[Unattributed article: "And How is One to be the Atheist?"; POSTFAKTUM Press Agency disseminated the following announcement from the city of Stry, Lvov Oblast]

[Text] The rayon HOMIN VOLI (GOLOS SVOBODY) has published the resolution of the presidium of the United Stry Council on the introduction on 1 September 1990 to the city's and rayon's schools of the fundamentals of Christian religion. According to the resolution, "directors of the city and rayon schools have been advised to introduce classes on the study of the Scriptures into the elementary grades and to institute Sunday school for senior pupils." The resolution instructs the directors of preschool establishments, professional-technical institutions and the Stry Technical College of agricultural mechanization and electrification to convert Lenin rooms into rooms for the study of ethnography.

The resolution requires that school libraries exclude from subscription literature and didactic material propagandizing communist ideology and that party, komsomol and pioneer organizations be abolished in educational institutions.

Directors and deputy directors of preschool establishments and educational institutions of all levels are advised to leave the ranks of the CPSU.

Actions of Chervonograd Deputies Criticized

90UN2604A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
31 Jul 90 p 1

[Unattributed article under the rubric "In the Press Center of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee": "Against Lawlessness and Confrontation"]

[Text] The situation which has arisen in Chervonograd in Lvov Oblast became the topic of a conversation between a group of the city's communist mine workers and representatives of the republic's mass media, television, and radio on 30 July 1990.

At the beginning of the press conference T.I. Mamontova, secretary of the Chervonograd Gorkom [City Party Committee], informed journalists that an atmosphere of confrontation has been created in the city recently. This gives rise to alarm among the population. A group of CPSU members from Chervonograd who are anxious about the situation traveled to Kiev to inform the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, the republic's procurator, and the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee about it.

Speaking at the press conference, the Chervonograd residents said that at present the practical efforts of the Chervonograd City Soviet of People's Deputies are directed at examining purely political issues instead of at

resolving existing questions of providing the population with housing, industrial goods, and food and other important socioeconomic problems.

For instance, the emissaries from Chervonograd said, recently a session of the city soviet adopted a ruling to dismantle memorials to V.I. Lenin and K. Marx, to move the party gorkom from buildings which are the property of the Ukrainian Communist Party, to depoliticize enterprises and organizations, to eliminate party committees and Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League] committees at enterprises and organizations, and to terminate the activities of Komsomol and Pioneer organizations in the city's schools. Representatives of the council of veterans of war and labor were not given the opportunity to state their position at the session's meeting.

Answering questions from journalists, the press conference participants expressed their alarm at such a concept of the process of democratizing society by the local organs of power and stressed that such actions are illegal.

Rayon Restored for Chernobyl Resettlers

*LD2308163190 Kiev International Service
in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 21 Aug 90*

[Text] Brusilov Rayon in Zhitomir Oblast, eradicated 30 years ago, has been restored back to life, writes the paper *SILSKI VISTI*. This act has been dictated by the Chernobyl catastrophe and by the need to evacuate people from the polluted areas.

In accordance with the decision of the republic's government, the inhabitants of Narodichi itself and of 29 villages of Narodichi Rayon are to be settled in the new rayon.

On-Farm Factory Increases Kolkhoz Prosperity

*PM2208110990 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1430 GMT 18 Aug 90*

[Report by L. Ilchenko, V. Stepanenko from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Around 200 small enterprises and workshops which have been set up on Chernigov Oblast kolkhozes [collective farms] using local raw materials are actively helping to provide the population with food products and essential goods.

[Reporter] The Dimitrov Kolkhoz in Gorodnyanskiy Rayon in the Chernigov Oblast Polesye completed the harvest earlier than others. Quite a lot of land has already been plowed in preparation for winter crops, and Vladimir Konstantinovich, who was helping in the fields during the harvest, has returned without delay to his main job in the kolkhoz factory. This is how they refer to a workshop for curing sheep skins and turning them into useful, practical, and sought-after coats and jackets which has been organized in Butovka village by this farm veteran. The kolkhoz organized the production from its

own resources. Nikolay Ivanovich Dudinok, another pensioner, willingly came from the rayon center to work as a cutter. People from the village mastered the curing process on restored equipment.

Up to 10,000 skins are processed here annually to make hundreds of good, cheap, and much needed garments which provide the kolkhoz with a substantial income.

Anatoliy Vasilyevich, on average there are between 500 and 1,000 sheep on the farm. Where does your raw material come from?

[A.V. Shevel, kolkhoz chairman] We use our own skins and skins from neighboring kolkhozes and from other rayons and oblasts. There is a lot of this raw material about. Especially since it is low-grade material, it is usually wasted and of little use to anyone, it does not fit into anyone's plan. Procurement centers are unwilling to accept it. This is a pity. We live on this raw material. It is our gold. Sheepskins coats are traditional Ukrainian clothing. In the old days, when they made a sheepskin coat, it lasted a generation. This has all been forgotten now, synthetics have taken over. Furthermore, these are bad times, there is nothing in the stores. So we decided to do something about it. It is economically advantageous, the raw materials cost virtually nothing. What makes a kolkhoz thrive? An influx of labor and business. And this is what we are trying to do. We market our goods at Gorodnya and other villages. And we have our eye on northern regions. We have already received orders from oil workers who work there.

Moldavian Premier Notes Republic Changes

*90UN2678A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY
in Russian No 33, 18-24 Aug 90 p 4*

[Interview with M. Druk, premier of the Moldova SSR (Soviet Socialist Republic), by I. Morzharetto; place and date not given: "Moldova: In Search of Its Own Path"]

[Text] *In recent years we have become witnesses to a rapid climb from obscurity to the heights of power by many entirely "non-nomenklatura" and informal leaders. Among these is M. Druk, premier of the Moldova SSR.*

[Morzharetto] Mircho Georgiyevich, your path to higher politics was not easy and strewn with roses... You have behind you two university faculties—economics and psychology—work in capital and provincial VUZ's [higher educational institution], and expulsion from the ranks of the CPSU with the stigma of "nationalist." And now you are the premier.

[Druk] Excuse me, but I do not consider myself a politician. Politics is a matter for parliament. But I am an executive, an artisan, a "homo faber" (a person who produces), if you wish. I am building a "home," whose design was developed in the Supreme Soviet. And in order to avoid political prejudices, according to the Law

on Government adopted by the parliament, all of its employees dropped their membership of parties several months ago.

[Morzharetto] The parliament of the republic ratified the Declaration of Sovereignty. How are its principles being put into practice?

[Druk] Today, the most important events are occurring in the area of foreign policy. I have in mind the bilateral negotiations between republics. Equal sovereign states must themselves decide whether to unite in a union, federation, or confederation, and what rights to delegate to the center. We do not need a regular central distributor who takes everything and later decides how much to give to whom, as is now practiced frequently. As an example. Moldova produces wine, but it does not have the right to sell it abroad without a license from the USSR MVES [Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations], and without the approval of the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee] it does not have the right to sell wine inside the country...

[Morzharetto] And what, in your opinion, should the Union be?

[Druk] I think that it is not necessary to invent anything new, and that use should be made of the available European Community experience. A European parliament exists there which works up recommendations and standards that apply to all countries and that at the same time do not infringe on the interests and sovereignty either of large France or small Luxembourg. As a result, the mutual ties and cooperation between the European countries are greater than those between our Union republics, and the situation on the border of France and the FRG is far better than that between "fraternal" Armenia and Azerbaijan.

[Morzharetto] What immediate economic reforms does your government plan to conduct in the republic?

[Druk] Immediate—all. For example, how to eliminate the enormous losses of agricultural products? (And we lose 35-40 percent of what is grown annually.) This means that it is urgently necessary to modernize and, as a matter of fact, to establish a new processing industry. Then we will be able not only to feed the republic, but also to trade in the products. We see an opportunity for the development of cattle-breeding and on this basis to create a shoe industry. Moldova also has everything for perfume-cosmetics and pharmaceutical production. However, despite the traditions of the Moldavian people, we were forced for decades to specialize only in the cultivation of grapes and tomatoes.

But let us take the housing problem. People are ready to build by themselves, but there are no building materials. And this is given the fact that the republic has the raw materials for the production of bricks, roofing tile, and ceramic tile!

[Morzharetto] What path is the government taking to resolve all of these problems?

[Druk] We are placing emphasis on small and average enterprises that are traditional for Moldova. Privatization is necessary, and now aggressive work is taking place on the mechanism for this process. For the time being there are quite a few unresolved questions. For example, we are already conducting negotiations on the total privatization of the entire system of tourism. But how much will one or another hotel cost? There are no rates, and there is no stock exchange, but the still few and timid enterprises should not be scared off.

[Morzharetto] For decades they frightened us with a market, and they even hinted at private enterprise; therefore, the shift to a market economy cannot be proclaimed by decree—it is necessary to change the psychology of the people.

[Druk] I would prefer the name "normal economy," and not "market economy." In 72 years we became convinced that products can be produced only under conditions of freedom, because free enterprise is the only known method of production that does not ignore the laws of the development of the human psyche. Today, many began to understand that it is necessary to live according to the laws of economics and not politics, but we still do not recognize that the psyche also has its own laws. And the laws of a normal and a market economy are exactly compatible with them.

[Morzharetto] Mircho Georgiyevich, how did the number of ministries and the officials who work in them change in connection with the change in the tasks set before the government?

[Druk] While the initial plan proposed leaving 36 ministries in the republic, the number is now reduced to 16, and, moreover, the process is not yet completed. But we are not setting tasks such as: By such-and-such a date, discharge 50 percent; no. Special commissions that took level of competence, experience, and so forth into account approved employees for jobs in the new ministries. Incidentally, we are opening six new schools in the buildings of six of the former ministries. This will make it possible to cancel the third and partially the second shift in the capital.

[Morzharetto] Did the commission take knowledge of the Moldavian language into account?

[Druk] Undoubtedly. According to our laws, a person who does not know the state language cannot occupy a responsible state position. At the present time, about 40 percent of the specialists in the new organs of state administration do not speak Moldavian. They have started, or are supposed to start, learning the language if they want to work in the government in the future.

[Morzharetto] But does the Russian-speaking population of the republic not consider these measures discriminatory?..

[Druk] I do not like the term "Russian-speaking." I, like all Moldavians, speak Russian, and so we also can be called "Russian-speaking." We have to talk about people who do not know any language other than Russian. No one demands that a housewife or a pensioner know the Moldavian language—it is their personal affair. But if a person aspires to a state post—he is obligated to know it.

[Morzharetto] Is the question of reunification with Romania on the work agenda of your government?

[Druk] No. No one ever raised it in the government (I cannot answer for the baseless speeches of all extremists), and no one is raising it. Moreover, it is also not being raised in Romania. There are two states, and each has its own problems, ways for resolving them, etc.

Moldavian Supreme Soviet Studies Social Climate

90UN2654A Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDOVA
in Russian 3 Aug 90 p 1

[Unattributed report "In the Presidium of the Moldovan SSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] The Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] of Moldova Supreme Soviet Presidium discussed the issue "On The Social and Political Situation in the Republic."

The adopted decree observes that practical steps have recently been taken in connection with the exacerbation of the social and political atmosphere in the republic to stabilize it. This is being facilitated to a large extent by the adoption at the first session of the Supreme Soviet of the Declaration on the Sovereignty of the SSR of Moldova and the decree on state power—fundamental documents which reflect the wishes of the Moldavian people for a revival of the genuine power of the people and the formulation and approval of its legal foundations, enshrine the principle of the supremacy of the constitution and laws of the SSR of Moldova, and approve the concept of the republic's transition to a market economy.

The process of the formation of a state based on the rule of law, the vital need for which is being recognized by society increasingly distinctly, is being expressed in the radical renewal of republic legislation and the formulation of the question concerning the elaboration in the very near future of a new constitution (basic law). Measures are being implemented in respect of the conclusion of bilateral treaties between sovereign republics, which will serve as a basis for the elaboration of effective legal mechanisms and the establishment between them of long-term comprehensive relations and their consolidation and create the necessary prerequisites for the actual transition to a market economy.

At the same time, despite the measures adopted by the organs of state power and administration, the social and political situation in the republic remains difficult. Certain forces are continuing to spur tension, deliberately creating conflict situations and displaying a reluctance to

soberly comprehend the processes that are occurring in the life of the republic, which is at times leading to instances of flagrant breaches of public order and encroachment on the honor, dignity, and inviolability of the citizens. The level of crime is not declining, and the population is worried by the increase in the number of homicides, aggravated assaults, larceny, and theft. The growth of crime among juveniles, and of group and organized crime, is a particular cause of concern.

The constructive action of the present leadership of the republic pertaining to stabilization of the social and political situation is being opposed by conservative forces taking shelter behind slogans of struggle for the people's interests. Certain local soviets of people's deputies are unlawfully assuming authority which is the province of the higher organs of state power.

Separatism and a nihilistic attitude toward the constitution and other laws of the SSR of Moldova on the part of the leadership of the City Soviets of Tiraspol, Bendery, and Rybnitsa and the Rybnitskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies is assuming an increasingly open nature. The adoption at special sessions of these soviets of unlawful decisions, the putting to referendums of questions which are the prerogative of the SSR of Moldova Supreme Soviet, the suspension on the territory of certain localities of individual laws concerning the official language and national emblems, and an appeal containing a proposal for the creation of an association of cities of a so-called free economic zone are essentially of a political, provocative nature whose ultimate purpose is to counterpose the interests of the population of the Dnestr area to those of the whole people of the republic and intensify social and political instability, suspicion, and mutual mistrust.

Despite the positive changes in the solution of a number of questions raised by citizens of Gagauz nationality similar to problems of the Moldavian people, radical representatives of this national group have not abandoned their disinforming of the population and confrontation. The mass meetings of the last few days in Komrat and Chadyr-Lunga testify to this. The decisions adopted at them will lead to the inflaming of unhealthy passions and the emergence of destabilizing situations.

The situation in the republic's socioeconomic development remains disturbing. In a number of sectors of the economy, economic indicators in the first six months of the current year declined sharply compared with the level which had been reached earlier. As a whole, the increase in generated national income declined fourfold. Difficulties are being experienced by the agrarian sector also: In the first half of the year the amount of the sale of grain, fruit, vegetable products, meat, and milk declined, harvesting and fodder procurement is behind schedule, and there has been a decline in the numbers of all types of public livestock.

The slow formation of the soviets of people's deputies as bodies of genuine people's power, the protracted transfer

to them of the functions of power and administration, and the failure to adopt effective and timely measures pertaining to compliance with the law by every citizen of the republic have contributed to a certain extent to the current situation in the SSR of Moldova. The activity of the law enforcement authorities, whose work takes the current situation insufficiently into account and lacks due coordination of action, does not correspond to requirements.

Proceeding from the need for a recovery of the social and political situation in the republic, the SSR of Moldova Supreme Soviet Presidium has deemed it expedient to stimulate the activity of the local soviets of people's deputies of the SSR of Moldova, economic authorities, and public organizations, channeling it into the satisfaction of the population's day-to-day needs and requirements, undeviating compliance with constitutional and other legislation and labor and social discipline, and the assurance of fundamental transformations in the republic in accordance with the demands of the times.

It is proposed that the government of the SSR of Moldova and rayon, city, community, and village soviets of people's deputies, guided by the legislative instruments adopted at the first session of the republic Supreme Soviet, adopt specific measures for the actual exercise of the full extent of state power and administration.

On the basis of an analysis of the situation which has taken shape locally, elaborate a set of organizational-political and socioeconomic measures aimed at stabilizing the state of affairs in agriculture, industry, construction, transport, trade, and services.

Prevent instances of the adoption of decisions which go beyond the bounds of the authority of the soviets and which could lead to a destabilization of the situation not only in an individual region but also in the republic as a whole. Improve explanatory work among the population on universal compliance with the provisions of legislation regulating questions of the republic's sovereignty, the inviolability of its territory and national emblems, and the functioning of the languages.

Through the end of 1990 it is forbidden to conduct mass meetings, marches, demonstrations, referendums and other activities aimed at exacerbating the social and political atmosphere in all localities of the republic, at enterprises and in establishments and organizations.

The procuracy, Ministry of Internal Affairs, and Committee of State Security of the SSR of Moldova are instructed to strive for the compliance by officials and all citizens of the republic with the constitution (basic law) and other laws of the SSR of Moldova and the actual enshrinement of their supremacy in the exercise of law enforcement activity. To institute the proceedings determined by law against the sponsors of the organization and realization of mass meetings destabilizing the social and political situation and regularly notify the community of this.

It is recommended that national radio and television of the SSR of Moldova and the national MOLDOVA-PRES agency cover opportunely, comprehensively, and objectively the processes of social renewal in the press and on radio and television and prevent instances of a distortion of events and the protection of extremist, group interests, guided in their activity by the ideas of the community of interests of the whole population of the republic.

The SSR of Moldova Supreme Soviet Presidium has appealed to the deputies of the soviets of people's deputies of all levels, public and political associations and movements, the work force, and all citizens of the republic not to adopt ill-considered decisions, to dissociate themselves from all that could lead to a spurring of political and social tension, interethnic conflicts, and confrontation, display restraint in public speeches, and refrain from any actions which could be detrimental to the consolidation of the progressive forces.

Moldovia Presidium Announces Place Name Changes

*LD2308133790 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1200 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The presidium of the city soviet of people's deputies has decided to rename a number of streets, avenues, squares and parks of the capital of Moldova. From now on, the city's central square, Victory Square will be called the Grand National Assembly Square, whilst the Lenin Prospekt has been renamed after the Moldavian ruler, Stephen the Great.

Minsk Soviet To Break With Oblast Committee

*LD2308091890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0700 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] The Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee is to act as an arbitrator after a plenum of the Minsk city party committee decided to break with the oblast party committee.

This decision was not made easily. The plenum was held in two stages, with an eight-day break inbetween to allow for Minsk party organizations to air their views. The overwhelming majority of them supported independence.

The city committee will try its hand at organizing profitable production and commerce to use the earnings to maintain the apparatus of party committees and to provide Communists with material support. As for relations between the city committee and oblast committee, the former intends to maintain the closest and, at the same time, balanced ties with their colleagues.

Belorussian Law on Ministerial Changes Published

90UN2604C Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 20 Jul 90 p 3

["Law of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic on the Introduction of Amendments to the Belorussian SSR Law 'On the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers'"]

[Text] The Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet decrees:

With regard to the approval by the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet of the structure of the Belorussian SSR Government, to introduce the following amendments to the 20 June 1979 Belorussian SSR Law "On the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers" (Belorussian SSR Code of Laws 1979, No. 18 p 296; 1989, No. 24 p 248; No. 35, p 387):

in Article 24 replace the words "Belorussian SSR Ministry of Communications" with the words "Belorussian SSR Ministry of Communications and Information Sciences";

to set forth Articles 25, 26, and 27 in the following wording:

Article 25. Republic Ministries of the Belorussian SSR

The following are republic ministries of the Belorussian SSR:

The Belorussian SSR Ministry of Water Management and Restoration of Lands;
the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Housing and Communal Services;
the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Light Industry;
the Belorussian SSR Ministry of the Timber Industry;
the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Industry;
the Belorussian SSR Ministry of the Building Materials Industry;
the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Social Security
the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Construction;
the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Construction and Use of Roads
the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Transport

The Belorussian SSR Ministry of Grain Products.

Article 26. The Union-Republic State Committees of the Belorussian SSR

The following are Union-republic state committees of the Belorussian SSR:

The Belorussian SSR State Committee for Construction;
the Belorussian SSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply;
the Belorussian SSR State Committee for Safety in Industry and the Atomic Power Industry;
the Belorussian SSR State Committee for Labor and Social Protection for the Population;
the Belorussian SSR State Committee for Statistics and Analysis;

the Belorussian SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting;
the Belorussian SSR State Committee for State Security;
the Belorussian SSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports;
the Belorussian SSR State Committee for Ecology.

Article 27. Republic State Committees of the Belorussian SSR

The following are republic state committees of the Belorussian SSR:

the Belorussian SSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations
the Belorussian SSR State Committee for the Press;
the Belorussian SSR State Committee for Problems of the consequences of the Catastrophe at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant;
the Belorussian SSR State Committee for Agriculture and Food Goods;
the Belorussian SSR State Committee for Fuel and Gasification;
the Belorussian SSR State Committee for Economics and Planning.

[Signed] N. Dementey, chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet

[Dated] Minsk, 16 July 1990

Belorussian Statistical Reporting Faulted

90UN2605A Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 22 Jul 90 p 2

[Article by engineer L. Plotkin under the rubric "An Opinion": "Lack of Complete Information"]

[Text] Our people have increased their social and political activity, they are insistently searching for a way out of the crisis situation, and all this becomes evident in their heightened interest in statistical data. This interest is displayed not only by experts and people's deputies, but also by the community at large. Lately the number of statistical publications has grown considerably at the Union level. But if we turn to the statistics of the republics, it might seem that they still remain in the coma of the stagnation period.

This is not an unfounded assumption. Recently I happened to come across the 1931 statistical handbook on the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and then I understood that by volume of information accessible to the people we must be in the Middle Ages or somewhere thereabout.

For decades the State Committee for Statistics has been feeding us something like starvation rations as they limited themselves to publishing the annual "National Economy in the Belorussian SSR" and a brief reference book "Some Figures on the Belorussian SSR." As one peruses these publications one cannot but conclude that the authors were guided by one concept only—to hide the most important information behind an overabundance of insignificant figures. They annually publish, for

instance, a chart of the gross income growth in the republic, but the volume of the said gross income and its distribution remain an impenetrable mystery for us.

Take, for instance, such an important issue as the people's health. One can learn a lot from the statistical handbooks: the number of doctors and nurses we have, the number of hospitals and hospital beds, the number of sanatoria and their patients. But the main data are absent there—the kinds of diseases we have and the number of people who have them, the number of days we spend in hospitals and dispensaries, the number of people who passed away before their time and the reasons for it, the damage to the national economy caused by all this, the place of the republic in the country and in the world as it would follow from these figures.

The people in the republic are now concerned about ecology problems. The statisticians seem to have responded to the concern by publishing data on the volumes of poisonous materials released into the atmosphere. But even here they cheat and do not specify the materials and the cities. And without it one cannot judge about the ecological situation.

The problem of access to the information is far from idle. I understand that some representatives of the command-and-administration system would profit by hiding certain information.

As I was looking through the 1991 printing schedules of the Belorussian publishing houses I could notice no foreseeable changes in the publication of the statistical data in the near future. And still, as do many other people, I would like to see on my desk the handbooks "Population of the Belorussian SSR," "Industries of the Belorussian SSR," "The Belorussian SSR and Other Countries," etc.

Belorussian Deputies' Housing Privileges Viewed 90P50063A

[Editorial Report] Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian of 22 August 1990 on page 2 in a 300-word article reports that as opposed to initial sessions of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet broadcast over radio and television, closed sessions to which even journalists are denied access are now being held. While campaigning for parliamentary seats deputies spoke "passionately" in favor of abolishing housing privileges, the majority now back a resolution to accord themselves just these sort of special privileges. According to the resolution, "people's deputies who have been released from fulfilling work-related duties as a result of assuming office in a higher republic organ and who do not possess permanent Minsk residences are to be accorded lifetime housing for themselves and their families."

This decision comes at a time when almost all republic parliaments and the USSR having taken into account severe housing shortages, have decided to grant deputies "official apartments on a temporary basis."

Not all deputies agree with the resolution, and, according to the author of the article, TASS correspondent V. Glod, "Belorussians are quite rightly asking: is it possible that a new 'restructured' privileged class is developing?"

Caucasus

Further on Provisions of Armenian Declaration

Genocide Clause Debated

NC2308152390 Yerevan International Service
in Armenian 1530 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] The Armenian Supreme Soviet continued its deliberations on the final touches to the declaration of independence this morning. It should be recalled that a large part of yesterday's session was devoted to a discussion on whether a commemoration of the Armenian genocide should be included in the declaration of independence or not. The majority voted that this point should be definitely included in the declaration, and a commission was assigned the duty of studying proposals and propounding an acceptable decision.

Deliberations on this topic continued during today's session. Views were divided. Some of the deputies stated that the [word indistinct] commemoration of the 1915 genocide should be definitely included in the declaration, either in its prologue or in the text. However, no consensus was achieved on any of the proposals. One group of deputies stated that the declaration of independence is a document concerning the establishment of our state and that it is not the right place to commemorate the crime, especially since the prologue to the declaration of independence, which has already been approved, does refer to the Armenian people's (?violated rights) and the restoration of historical justice.

The deliberations continued until 1500 but no results were achieved, since none of the proposals obtained the necessary consensus. It was thus decided to assign the [word indistinct] commission with the task of reexamining the proposals and presenting a version which will be accepted by all sides.

After the session, Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, left for Idzhevan in order to find ways to ease the recently exacerbated situation in the northeast.

Deputies Reach Agreement

NC2408091390 Yerevan International Service
in Armenian 1800 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Report by Armineh Tukhkyan]

[Excerpts] The Armenian Supreme Soviet today adopted a declaration on Armenia's statehood. The deliberations on the declaration were the most heated of the discussions held during the sessions of the newly elected parliament.

The debate culminated on Tuesday when the issue of whether the 1915 Armenian genocide should be commemorated in the declaration was discussed. The deputies were divided between two opposing views. One group stated that the document on statehood was not the place to commemorate this crime, especially since the prologue to the declaration highlights the readiness of the parliament and of all Armenians to work to redress a historical injustice. The other group of deputies stated that, in view of the impact the crime which was committed at the beginning of this century had on the fate of the Armenian people and the profound psychological effects this crime continues to have on our people, as well as the many years of efforts to seek justice for the Armenian people, this topic should be mentioned in the declaration. A majority of deputies voted in favor of the second view.

Yesterday the session began discussing the wording of the clause and where it should appear in the declaration. Differences of views also arose over this. One group of deputies believed that the clause on the genocide should be included in the prologue, while another group believed that a separate article should be devoted to this topic in the text of the declaration. Many proposals were submitted but no consensus was reached. [passage omitted]

This morning, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet proposed that the two views be put to a vote once again. After voting, the Armenian Supreme Soviet accepted Deputy Yuriy Sarkisyan's proposals as follows:

The Republic of Armenia will strive toward the international recognition of the 1915 Armenian genocide in Ottoman Turkey and in western Armenia.

This clause will appear in a separate article in the text of the declaration.

Following this, the Armenian Supreme Soviet achieved a consensus on the declaration of independence.

Independent Statehood Adopted

*LD2308181690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] [Announcer] Today the Armenian Supreme Soviet adopted a declaration on Armenia's independent statehood. Our correspondent Koryun Khumaryan reports:

[Khumaryan] From today the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] will be called the Republic of Armenia and the process of restoring independent Armenian statehood is starting here. The Republic of Armenia was declared a sovereign state, with only the constitution and the laws of the Republic of Armenia in effect on its territory. Incidentally, they do not exist yet, neither the laws nor the constitution, so for some time we will have to abide by the old laws.

To ensure the Republic of Armenia's security and the inviolability of its borders, armed forces, Internal Troops, state and public security bodies are being set up. Military units of other countries, military bases and facilities cannot be stationed on republican territory without the Supreme Soviet's concurrence. Similarly, Armenia's armed forces cannot be used without the agreement of the supreme body of power.

As an independent subject of international law, the Republic of Armenia adheres to an independent foreign policy, establishes direct relations with other states and national-state formations of the Soviet Union. Incidentally, yesterday evening, a group of Armenian parliamentarians left for Moscow to take part in a conference on the issues of the new Union treaty. True, the Supreme Soviet has not invested it with any authority to conduct official talks.

The national wealth of the Republic of Armenia, including soil, minerals, air space, water, and other natural resources, its economic, cultural, and scientific and technical potential are declared the Armenian people's property. The Republic of Armenia's economy will be based on diverse forms of ownership. A national bank, finance, and credit system, taxation and customs services will be set up, and its own bank notes will be put into circulation.

On the whole, the declaration on Armenia's state independence has been adopted but this has not evoked special elation either in the parliament or town. The deputies and the population are going through alarming days connected with a new conflict on the Armenia-Azerbaijan border in Noyemberyanskiy Rayon. The burial of victims of this conflict took place in Yerevan today. And one more thing. Because gas supply to Armenia was halted along the pipeline passing through Azerbaijan, many enterprises have stopped operations. Today the town has been virtually without bread because all the bakeries were left without gas.

Nishanov, Armenian Officials on Federal Treaty

*LD2408031990 Moscow TASS in English 2325 GMT
23 Aug 90*

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—Representatives of the supreme soviets (parliaments) of the Soviet Union and Armenia on Thursday held preliminary consultations on concepts of a new federal treaty in Moscow.

The Armenian parliamentarians put forth their positions and their own vision of a future union of sovereign states.

Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet parliament's Council of Nationalities, and the chairmen of Soviet parliamentary committees and commissions informed the Armenian side about consultations they had held with representatives of other republics and about the agreements reached with them to continue work on a federal treaty.

The sides discussed the basic issues of relations between the Union and republics and the organization of the treaty process.

Tension on Armenia-Azerbaijan Border Continues

NKAO Commandant Interviewed

PM1408113790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 23 Aug 90 First Edition pp 1, 4

["Topical Interview" with Major General V. Safonov, commandant of the state of emergency region in NKAO, datelined Stepanakert-Moscow, by special correspondent Colonel V. Gavrilenko; no date specified: "Two Years of Unrest"—first paragraph is Gavrilenko introduction]

[Text] Major General V. Safonov, whom you see in the photograph, is commandant of the state of emergency region of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] in Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. Vladislav Nikolayevich and I last met, briefly, in January of this year at Gyandzha Airport. I was returning to Moscow, he was on his way back to Stepanakert to take up again his post of commandant there. We agreed at the time that we would talk in more detail at our next meeting. And so in August 1990....

[Gavrilenko] Vladislav Nikolayevich, the Nagorno-Karabakh issue is now deadlocked. But one, of course, would not call your posting here and the presence of Internal Troops in NKAO useless....

[Safonov] On the contrary. I think that it is important to say the following: So far the Internal Troops in Nagorno-Karabakh are successfully managing to resolve two tasks: to prevent bloodshed between the Azeri and Armenian communities, and not to allow the forcible eviction of Armenians.

[Gavrilenko] You hear it said at times: Safonov is pro-Azeri. What do you think about this?

[Safonov] In January of this year I was considered pro-Armenian. At that time, you will recall, a wave of anti-Armenian feelings flared up in Azerbaijan, some irresponsible elements were openly calling for a "crusade" against Armenians, and an exceptionally acute situation developed around NKAO; detachments of armed Azerbaijanis launched actual assaults, and later on a blockade of Armenian villages in the rayons bordering NKAO, especially those in Khanlarskiy Rayon. Internal troops from units deployed in Stepanakert stood in their way. This is when I was accused of pro-Armenian sentiments. But now the situation has changed.

Now there is more mutual understanding and constructiveness in our cooperation with the Azerbaijani side. We see a desire for a reasonable, calm, and fair solution of problems. And we welcome this. On the other hand, pressure from the Armenian side has intensified. A day does not pass without our guard posts and security

detachments on the border between the republics coming under fire. The Internal Troops, of course, repel these attacks. This is how I became "pro-Azeri"....

But these accusations by the sides are dictated only by emotions. Both sides know perfectly well that my sentiments are, if I could put it like this, "pro-Constitutional." The law proclaims that Nagorno-Karabakh is a part of the Azerbaijan SSR. And we, being stationed on NKAO territory, are charged with guarding public order and the constitutional rights and dignity of its inhabitants. Irrespective of their nationality. We do not play, and do not intend to play, any nationalist games, and we are not empowered to foist political solutions of problems on anyone.

[Gavrilenko] Why, in your view, does this hotbed of tension exist to this day?

[Safonov] I think that certain elements on both sides find it very useful—corrupt representatives of authority, national extremists, smooth operators in the shadow economy. None of them give a damn about the peoples living in Karabakh. They see it as troubled waters in which anyone can catch his fish.... Examples? Here you are. The road to Armenia through Lachin is closed. Traveling on it is very dangerous. The Azeri side has tried to propose cooperation to unblock it. But their neighbors evade a specific solution to the problem every time. At the same time, cars drive people over from Armenia along secret mountain paths. For money, of course. The sums are vast. And do you know how much a plane ticket to Yerevan costs? The scheduled fare is 12 rubles. But it goes up to 120. There are too many customers. An attempt was made to introduce a bus route between Stepanakert and Idzhevan. An escort, guards.... Security guaranteed. So what do you think, did anyone travel on it? No. Many people wanted to. But they arrived, chatted at the bus station, and went away. Someone had well and truly brainwashed and frightened people. And then there was this explosion in a scheduled bus coming from Tbilisi. This, of course, was no accident.

And here is another example for you. There are even sturgeon to be found in these troubled waters. A large quantity of black caviar and sturgeon was found in the apartment of a certain Armenian shadow economy dealer in Stepanakert. Where did this come from? Obviously not from Lake Sevan.... As we see, shadow economy dealers on both sides are doing fine. To make their tidy profits these people need a hotbed of tension and the sufferings and division of the two communities in Karabakh. The surest way to prolong all this is to play on national feelings. So far they are succeeding. But people here in Karabakh are tired. On both sides. This is why contacts have already begun between the communities; even treaties on good-neighborliness and restoration of friendly relations are appearing. Life is gaining the upper hand. Timidly, slowly, but it is gaining it nonetheless. All the same, the spring waters have been deeply polluted. And some people are continuing to pollute

them. For instance, I very much dislike the actions by USSR People's Deputy Z. Balayan. He is a rare visitor to Stepanakert, but he regularly fuels the flames, as the saying goes, with his press statements.

At the present time tension is also rising due to the fact that the Armenian community in Karabakh is refusing to accept the Republican Organizational Committee for NKAO, which was set up by the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution of 28 November 1989. Its efforts aimed at stabilizing the situation are being ignored. Its desire to establish normal life is coming up against a wall of incomprehension. For example, people start building a school in an Azeri village—there is an outcry. But the committee takes a principled line: exactly the same for both sides. It proposes: Let's do the same thing in Armenian villages. No, there is no need, they reply. Their stubbornness reaches comical lengths. In Stepanakert the bread baking situation is rather difficult. Nevertheless, they want nothing to do with flour imported from Azerbaijan. They are waiting for flour from Armenia. Why is that, doesn't Armenian flour also come from state stores? Doesn't it come from Ukrainian, Kazakh, or Kuban wheat? I think that this sort of fastidiousness in a state of emergency situation is an unforgivable luxury.

[Gavrilenko] What new features were introduced into the Karabakh situation by the USSR president's decree on disarming illegal groups and the surrender of weapons?

[Safonov] It must be said we were already doing what the decree prescribed, even before it was made. Arms and explosives were confiscated in large quantities. Guerrillas who were "sizing up" Karabakh from Armenia were tracked down, engaged in combat, and captured. New operations for seizing arms caches and enforcing the passport regime were well prepared and planned in the two weeks allotted by the president. But the center did not "OK" these actions. I know it has one goal—the quest for peaceful ways to solve the problem. But this quest is interpreted by many people here in Karabakh as indecisiveness. Each side interprets it in its own way. The two-month extension of the deadline was seen by Azeris as a concession to their neighbors. Armed groups still exist on the border, this is felt very keenly. This means that operations are needed in response. I think that they have already begun. And we risk falling between two stools....

[Gavrilenko] And do you never think that it is necessary to to withdraw the troops?

[Safonov] This question was raised last summer in Karabakh and was widely discussed there. A significant part of the population said that they should stay. But now I think that the troops should leave. We should plan their gradual withdrawal, and get on with it. Yes, while we are here, order and security are maintained. As soon as there is any trouble, people come running to us. The citizens of Karabakh have developed a way of life in

which everything—from trifles to complex questions and problems—is laid on the shoulders of the Internal Troops. A kind of dependency attitude has emerged, autonomy and responsibility are being lost. I think that if it was not for us, people's responsibility and courage would increase. They would set about normalizing life without relying on anyone, with the competence and wisdom that is characteristic of both peoples. The prerequisites for this exist—parliaments have come to power in the republics in which the people's movements are widely represented. Surely they will find a common language?

[Gavrilenko] What are the feelings now among the Internal Troops units stationed in Karabakh?

[Safonov] They have one goal—to fulfill their duty. Although it has become hard to work with the personnel. Emissaries have started to come with increasing frequency to us from the republics where our soldiers were born. They instill confusion into young hearts. Mothers write to me. For me, there is nothing more difficult than reading and replying to these letters. I understand them. I have children myself....

But we are servants of the state. People with a duty. Probably a mother's heart will never be reconciled to the fact that danger threatens her son, but our dear women must understand rationally—their sons are doing a job that is essential and necessary to our country and our people.

[Gavrilenko] Things are not easy, obviously, for your family either?

[Safonov] I am no exception. Two years of nerve-racking tension have had their effect. Now my wife has fallen ill.... But the wives of hundreds of officers and warrant officers are in no better position. I admire these women. Their faithfulness and patience inspire our hearts with the firmness and equanimity so necessary in the service.

[Gavrilenko] Have you personally been threatened by extremists?

[Safonov] I heard recently that the Armenian All-National Movement has sentenced me and the NKAO prosecutor, Valeriy Viktorovich Vasilenko, to death in some kind of "court."

[Gavrilenko] The mind boggles....

[Safonov] Yes, it is not pleasant. You have to be vigilant. Everywhere. Both here, in Karabakh, and at home. Isn't it a joke: In the city where my family lives, there is a militia guard round my door.

[Gavrilenko] Let us hope, Vladislav Nikolayevich, that common sense will prevail. Thank you for the conversation.

[Safonov] Let us hope so. All the best.

7 Die in Ethnic Clashes

LD2108114690 Moscow TASS in English 1058 GMT
21 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Borisov]

[Text] Moscow August 21 TASS—Reports coming in from Azerbaijan and Armenia tell of new bloody clashes between militants from the two southern republics.

On Monday, militants in Armenia's Noyemberyan region continued firing anti-hail guns at Ashagi Askipara and Baganis Ayrum villages in Azerbaijan, killing Interior Ministry Senior Lieutenant Aleksandr Lipatov and wounding four soldiers and four local civilians, Soviet Interior Ministry officials told TASS.

Three people were killed and six wounded during an attack on Voskevan and Baganis Armenian villages in Noyemberyan region on Monday, according to reports from the Armenian Interior Ministry.

Also on Monday, 20 militants seized the weapons of seven Kirovakan Road police officers on the main Noyemberyan-Baganis Road.

Twenty other militants broke into a local Interior Ministry headquarters and seized three submachine guns, three pistols and more than 4,500 rounds of ammunition.

Militants in Azerbaijan's Kazakh region fired on Armenian villages Voskepar and Baganis on Monday, killing three people and wounding 30.

Armenian Government on Defense

NC2208172490 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
1630 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Report: "The Decision of the Armenian Council of Ministers on the Formation of Special Subunits attached to the Armenian Republic's Internal Affairs Ministry"]

[Text] Proceeding from the objective set forth by the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet of commencing the process for the establishment of independent statehood;

Taking into consideration the complex social and political situation, the need for the defense of the border regions, the struggle against crimes committed by armed groups, and the need for a reliable guarantee of the population's security; and

Considering that the problems relating to domestic stability can be resolved by the republic's own forces without any foreign interference, the Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers decides:

First: Special subunits will be created for the defense of the republic and the maintenance of public order, attached to the Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers. The aforesaid subunits will carry out their activities

in conformity with the constitution and existing legislation of the republic and will be guided by the regulations on subunits drawn up by the republic's Council of Ministers.

Second: The responsibilities of the special subunits for the defense of the republic and maintenance of the public order attached to the Armenian Republic's Internal Affairs Ministry are:

A. The defense of the border regions of the republic and the guarantee of the security of the population;

B. The prevention of the commission of crimes by armed groups and the struggle against them;

C. The organization of rescue work and relocation of the population in cases of natural and environmental disasters and major industrial accidents; and

D. The fulfillment of other directives issued by the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet and government.

Third: The Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers is authorized to define the structure and numerical strength of the special subunits attached to the republic's Internal Affairs Ministry.

Fourth: The members of the special subunits attached to the Armenian Republic's Internal Affairs Ministry are to be enlisted on a voluntary basis from among citizens dedicated to the homeland and from the healthy forces of the territorial guards, self-defense and guerrilla detachments created to ensure the security of Armenia. The members of the aforesaid subunits shall take an oath and will have their own uniform, insignia, and documents.

Fifth: To instruct the Armenian Republic's Internal Affairs Ministry to cooperate with the republic's state planning organization, state committee for material-technical supply, and finance and justice ministries to:

A. Present within 10 days the necessary proposals and drafts for the confirmation of the Armenian Republic's efforts concerning the implementation of measures for the creation of the special units, and

B. Draft a proposal concerning the creation of new independent structures in the future based on the special units attached to the Internal Affairs Ministry and submit it to the Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers.

[Signed] Manukyan, chairman of the Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers; Vardanyan, director of the affairs of the Armenian republic's Council of Ministers.

The following shall be the oath taken by the members of the special subunits for the defense of the republic and maintenance of public order attached to the Armenian Republic's Internal Affairs Ministry: I, being a citizen of the Armenian Republic, in enlisting in the ranks of the special subunits for the defense of the republic and

maintenance of public order attached to the Armenian Republic's Internal Affairs Ministry, swear always to remain loyal to my homeland and be courteous and disciplined, wholeheartedly to fulfill all the instructions given to me, not to violate Armenia's constitution and laws, and protect state and service secrets. I undertake to carry out my service duties conscientiously and correctly and if required not to spare my life for the sake of the Armenian Republic.

Soldiers Send Families Home

*PM2308082590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 19 Aug 90 First Edition p 1*

[Lieutenant Colonel V. Kaushanskiy dispatch under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Who Will Stop the Raiders"]

[Text] Yerevan—Observation posts on the barracks roofs, sandbags surrounding weapon emplacement embrasures, warning fields along the most vulnerable approaches to military installations, soldiers and officers in bulletproof vests.... At the observation point of one of the units on the outskirts of Yerevan I had a look through my binoculars at the clever system of obstacles that has taken shape literally in the past few days. My first thought was: Is this not a mirage, is this happening in my country? Alas, it is. A dismal but unfortunately real fact of life for our servicemen in the Yerevan units and indeed the majority of other garrisons on Armenian territory.

In the past days and weeks a whole complex of what you might call self-defense measures has been taken through common efforts. "In order to feel calmer, many officers, particularly in remote garrisons, preferred to send their wives and children back home," Lieutenant Colonel V. Kravtsov, senior officer at the district combat training directorate, with whom we met during our official trip, said. "Yesterday I was working in one of the battalions. The residential buildings are almost four kilometers away from the barracks. By the time you run there.... And it was there that a threat was made by thugs, who said: If you do not voluntarily give up your submachine-guns, we will take your wives hostage in exchange for them."

The crime situation is quite heated. Here are some fragments from recent summaries of operations. On 14 August alone, six raids were carried out. Eleven automobiles were hijacked. During the night of 15 August 22 brand new UAZ-469 automobiles were stolen from the railroad platform at Masis station. An attack was made on the Vaykskiy Rayon (the former Azizbekovskiy Rayon) militia department.

The news about the creation of a rapid-reaction militia detachment intended to disarm the bandit formations has been received with enthusiasm. The structure for the detachment, which will be under republic MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] authority, has been stipulated. Its officers and privates will be people of indigenous

nationality. But this is a matter for the future, even if it is the near future. But what about today, now? Who will stop the raiders?

Ter-Petrosyan Views Issues

*PM2308115490 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 33, 26 Aug-2 Sep 90 p 4*

[Report on interview with Armenian Supreme Soviet Chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan, by Vladimir Kiselev; place and date not given: "Direct Talks With Azerbaijan Are Possible, Says Armenia's Supreme Soviet Chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan"]

[Text] In December 1988, Levon Ter-Petrosyan, a member of the Karabakh Committee, was arrested by the then little-known General Makashev, the military commandant of Yerevan. The man was put in a cold damp cell and soon became seriously ill. This was several days after the terrible earthquake that left cities and villages in ruins and Armenia was desperately trying to rescue survivors from under the rubble and bury the dead. At the time I was working on a report from Armenia for a Moscow newspaper, and got a phone call from my editors actually demanding that I hit out at Armenian nationalism. They would not listen to my objections: "This is an order from the party Central Committee's ideological department!"

Many newspapers started to include absurd inventions in their reports from the stricken area. Should a journalist fail to provide the requisite "incriminating information" it was added by editors in Moscow. Especially recalcitrant reporters got fired.

I told this to Levon Ter-Petrosyan, D.Sc (Philology), a world-renowned intellectual and author, who knows ten languages, until recently a political prisoner and leader of the Armenian national movement, and today—the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Armenia. He took a deep drag at his cigarette and smiled bitterly:

The Centre did its damndest to give our movement a bad name and keep its members from power. But we've won and that cannot be ignored.

[Kiselev] Soon after your election to the republic's highest body you talked to the USSR president. What did you discuss, if it is no secret?

"It was a warm discussion. Mikhail Sergeyevich phoned to congratulate me. He said he was ready to cooperate. Whatever his attitude to the Armenian National Movement and to me, Gorbachev is a realist. Politics is reality. The result is—I am visiting Moscow for talks with the country's leaders. As for the injustices I've suffered.... You cannot build a future on them. Inasmuch as it involves state and political relations, I will never touch upon my arrest and incarceration."

I met with Levon Ter-Petrosyan at the republic's permanent mission in Moscow's Armyanskiy Lane. He was about to leave for Yerevan. He was a bit worried because

it's hard to get airline tickets these days. He was weary. Ter-Petrosyan was clearly pleased with the results of his visit. It was soon after a news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists. Ter-Petrosyan was applauded at the start and the end of the conference. We then had a private discussion.

[Kiselev] Disarming tens of thousands of men defying the USSR President's Decree sounds like an invitation to civil war. Did you come to Moscow to prevent a possible tragedy?

[Ter-Petrosyan] The armed militants that exist in the republic said they would comply with the will of parliament. It has been agreed that it is the republican authorities who are supposed to implement the president's decree of July 25. The Army and the Internal Troops will have no part in it. Tanks and armoured vehicles have been removed from the streets of Yerevan.

[Kiselev] The impression is that the Armenian militia is totally demoralized.

[Ter-Petrosyan] This is really so. But with public support it can fulfill its mission. Until recently the militia was regarded as an arm of the state. The situation has radically changed—the people have taken power. As for armed groups, these are mainly healthy forces that will soon be absorbed into the system of law and order. Having reinvigorated the militia, we will rely on them to fight criminal elements.

The number of vigilantes in the republic is neither 160,000 nor 40,000. It is closer to 6,000. This is recognized by both the KGB and the MVD. But rumours persist. When I asked the chairman of the republican KGB why, he didn't answer. Some people perhaps cash in on fanning the flames.

We are for a national army. This idea is shared by all the republics. The Armenians want their children to serve in Armenia. The Ukrainians want theirs to serve in the Ukraine, the Estonians—in Estonia. It doesn't matter if it is called the Soviet Army or some other name—what we need are national military units.

[Kiselev] Which are the immediate tasks before Armenia's parliament?

[Ter-Petrosyan] Armenia isn't an isolated country. It is part of the federation, which means we are going through the same processes that all the other republics are going through. Increased sovereignty and democratization are processes we are all experiencing. What is specific is the Karabakh issue, the stricken area, refugees. But we will not be able to implement a single programme unless the situation in the republic is first stabilized. This is our paramount task.

[Kiselev] Do you think it is possible to start direct talks with Azerbaijan?

[Ter-Petrosyan] Given mutual consent, we are ready to sit down at the negotiating table right away. The basis for

a compromise is to restore Soviet government in Karabakh. Today it is ruled by the Army, which fulfills not only its repressive functions but also political, administrative and economic ones. Soviet legality and economic laws do not work there. The alleged reason for our conflict with Azerbaijan is Pan-Islamism. I don't think religion or ethnicity have anything to do with it. The conflict is about the international right to self-determination of the people. We treat the process of normalization as one of the processes going on in the country. Nagorno-Karabakh should get the same status as autonomous areas. We stand for Karabakh becoming part of Armenia, but as realists, we are doing our best to improve the current situation in Nagorno-Karabakh. Nothing else. There are no official contacts with Azerbaijan at present—only an exchange of information between the Armenian National Movement and the Popular Front of Azerbaijan.

[Kiselev] You've mentioned a change of government in Armenia. But it has only affected the top echelon....

[Ter-Petrosyan] Yes, all executive levers are in the hands of the old apparat. Sabotage cannot be ruled out. For this reason we shall continue despite the fact we are offered compromises both in Moscow and Armenia. But we shall move even further. Our prime minister will also be a political figure. Thus we shall bring the executive power under control. But we are not going to form a government from our movement, or a coalition government. We will select candidates on the strength of their abilities, not their political motives.

The Communist Party could form a substantial opposition. I have in mind, among other things, the impressive number of its members in parliament. But my impression is that the Armenian Communist Party is in utter confusion following its electoral defeat.

[Kiselev] According to some views, the mafia in Armenia has deep roots.

[Ter-Petrosyan] The mafia never dies. It exists in the republic and it has poisoned our life. For this reason, accusations by the Centre that our national liberation movement had been created by the mafia are deeply insulting. The mafia has been using dirty tricks and provocations for two and a half years against our movement. I am positive that it was and is being supported by certain forces from the Centre.

[Kiselev] Where do you think the biggest threat to the renewal process comes from?

[Ter-Petrosyan] From the Army. This is perhaps the only part of our life still unaffected by perestroika.

[Kiselev] Is Armenia ready to accept international aid?

[Ter-Petrosyan] We are not going to ask for it. But we favour mutually advantageous cooperation. We have good relations with East Europe. That cooperation will

continue for some time yet. Relations with the Western world hold more promise, primarily due to the Armenian diaspora.

[Kiselev] I'm sorry for my somewhat embarrassing question. In what case may you resign?

[Ter-Petrosyan] I'll leave as soon as I feel that I no longer justify the trust of the people.

Note Sent to Gorbachev

LD2308153190 Moscow TASS in English 1453 GMT
23 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Stepanakert August 23 TASS—Five USSR people's deputies from Nagorno-Karabakh have sent an address to President Gorbachev and the parliaments of Union republics.

The address read out today over Armenian radio and television says, specifically, that the address of the Azerbaijan president to the supreme soviets of Union republics was "an attempt to mislead the country's leaders and public and to justify planned violence over the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh."

On August 21, Azerbaijan President Ayaz Mutalibov addressed the parliaments of union republics, urging them to protect Azerbaijan from attacks by Armenian militants.

Mutalibov actually called into question the efficiency of the Soviet president's decree banning the creation of armed units that are not envisaged by Soviet legislation and demanding the confiscation of illegally possessed arms.

He warned that Azerbaijan will have to take action to ensure the republic's sovereignty and security and will not stop at drawing the attention of the world public to the situation in the region.

The address of USSR people's deputies from Nagorno-Karabakh declares that "the leadership of Azerbaijan stops at nothing in its efforts to misinform the public in order to conceal numerous pogroms and killings of Armenians, Russians, Jews, other Russian speaking people and to justify new organised crimes."

The address says that if Azerbaijan leaders "condemn the Soviet president for his decree allegedly remaining unfulfilled, let them set an example by confiscating arms in their republic."

Kolesnikov Cited on Events

PM2308161390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 1

[News roundup compiled by I. Andreyev: "Armenia: Troops in Five-Kilometer Zone"]

[Text] I managed to learn at first hand about the events of recent days in the Transcaucas when I spoke with Internal Troops Chief of Staff Lieutenant General M. Kolesnikov via the military communications system.

"A few hours ago Internal Troop subunits entered the five-kilometer border zone with Azerbaijan in Armenia's Idzhevanskiy and Noyemberyanskiy Rayons," Mikhail Petrovich said. "The task set by the command after the republic leadership authorized this measure was to clear the zone of guerrillas and conduct active operations against them."

"It must be said that the rebuff received by the Armenian guerrillas on Azerbaijani territory seems to have sobered them up somewhat. According to our figures, more than 50 extremists were killed and over 100 injured in fighting they unleashed near the settlement of Baganis-Ayrum."

[Andreyev] Can you confirm the reports of the guerrillas receiving air support from several helicopters without identification markings?

[Kolesnikov] I saw with my own eyes between one and three helicopters near the village of Ashagy-Aksipara delivering armed people and some kind of cargo to the area of hostilities, as you might call it.

[Andreyev] Did these machines have weapons fitted? Who do they belong to?

[Kolesnikov] No, we did not see fixed weapons—machine guns, say—on the helicopters. According to some information we have, they belong to the Armenian Civil Aviation agricultural air service.

Last night an attempt was made to make an armed attack on a military facility near the settlement of Pushkino in Stepanavanskiy Rayon. The guard fought back and forced the attackers to retreat.

While Armenian Supreme Soviet Chairman L. Ter-Petrosyan and Army and Internal Troops representatives were out visiting border areas, persons unknown made an attempt in Dilizhan to seize by force an escorting armored transporter which had fallen behind because of a malfunction. Its crew kept their heads, and the extremists' attempt to supplement their pool of combat hardware failed.

"The situation in Azerbaijan is calm," Lt. Gen. M. Kolesnikov said in conclusion, "although there are rumors circulating in the republic about an imminent mass incursion by Armenian guerrillas. In all the threatening areas we have forces, up to and including aviation, which I hope will give any overexcited hotheads something to think about."

According to USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Press Center information for 22 August, there was an explosion on the road bridge over the Kakarchay River near Agdam (Azerbaijan). The road surface was damaged.

Shots were fired from a Niva driving through the village of Marzali. According to preliminary data two local Azerbaijani inhabitants were wounded.

The situation in Azerbaijan's Kazakhskiy Rayon has stabilized somewhat. According to republic MVD data, in neighboring Noyemberyanskiy Rayon in Armenia five rocket and gun emplacements belonging to Armenian bandit formations have been eliminated.

In Idzhevskiy Rayon there was a meeting of leaders of Noyemberyanskiy and Kazakhskiy Rayons in which Deputy Ministers of Internal Affairs R. Mamedov from Azerbaijan and G. Grigoryan participated.

Among measures designed to instill order in this zone by joint efforts it was decided to set up a military commandant's office in Kazakh (Azerbaijan) and also six posts to be located on both sides of the interrepublic border.

USSR MVD reports noted on 22 August the seizure as a hostage of an Armenian shepherd by four armed Azerbaijanis, shooting at the village of Avush (Ilichevskiy Rayon, Nakhichevan ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic]) from the Armenian village of Khachik, and an armed attack in Armenia on a vehicle transporting five convicts from a strict regime labor colony to the hospital of the Armenian MVD Corrective Affairs Administration. Opening fire with automatic weapons, the attackers forced the guards to surrender their weapons—four AKM submachine guns and one Makarov pistol—and disappeared together with the convicts and their personal files.

IZVESTIYA's Armenia correspondent S. Bablunyan reported the details of the events of the last 24 hours.

On 23 August Armenian Supreme Soviet Chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan briefed the session on his meeting with Transcaucasus Military District Commander Colonel General V. Patrikeyev and USSR MVD Internal Troops Commander Colonel General Yu. Shatalin at a point on the Armenian-Azerbaijani border on the evening of 22 August. Participating in the meeting on the Azerbaijani side was republic KGB Chairman Guseynov.

As L. Ter-Petrosyan stated, agreement was reached that the military command will expeditiously resolve questions linked with the exchange or handover of hostages if such actions take place in the future. A decision was adopted to move into the zone of the armed conflict some subunits of the Internal Troops stationed in Armenia, which will take this sector of the Armenian-Azerbaijani border under their protection in conjunction with Armenian MVD representatives.

TASS Summarizes Conflicts

LD2308172890 Moscow TASS in English 1635 GMT
23 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Borisov and Igor Gvritshvili]

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—The situation in Azerbaijan's Kazakh District on the border with Armenia has somewhat stabilised thanks to resolute measures taken by Soviet Interior Ministry Troops, Azerbaijan authorities and regular army units, the Azerbaijan Interior Ministry reported today.

Their actions are being coordinated by Soviet Interior Ministry Troops Commander Yuriy Shatalin.

Five rocket and field-gun units were eliminated in Armenia's Noyemberyan District from where intensive bombardment was directed at Azerbaijan villages across the border.

The Azerbaijan prosecutor's office officially refuted Armenian claims that Armenian militants operated in Kazakh District in response to the capture of hostages by Azerbaijanis.

According to the prosecutor's office, a man identified only as Sevoyan, from Yerevan, was detained in the village of Baganis Ayrum. He fired at a police post. A submachine gun, a pistol, three grenades and cartridges were found in his car.

The sounds of explosions and shooting was heard throughout the past twenty-four hours in several border regions in Armenia and Azerbaijan. Armed attacks were launched to seize weapons and munitions. The number of casualties grew.

TASS learned at the Soviet Interior Ministry press centre today that a group of armed men attacked a special vehicle carrying five convicts in the village of Udzhn, Ashtarak District in Armenia, on Wednesday.

The attackers disarmed the guards and captured four submachine guns, a pistol and 230 cartridges. After releasing the criminals, they fled.

On the same day, the village of Avush in Ilichevsk District of Nakhichevan (autonomous republic in Azerbaijan) was subjected to fire from automatic weapons from the side of Armenia's Yekhegnadzor District for about half an hour.

The shooting stopped only after a police detail returned the fire.

On Wednesday night, passengers of a car with no number plates fired shots in the village of Marzili in Azerbaijan's Agdam District. According to the USSR Interior Ministry, two local residents (Azerbaijanis) were wounded.

The ministry reported that leaders of several border regions from Armenia and Azerbaijan met in Armenia's Idzhevan District on Wednesday. The meeting was attended by deputy interior ministers of the two republics.

According to information provided by the Soviet Interior Ministry, the participants in the meeting elaborated joint measures to prevent fresh armed clashes.

It is envisaged, for instance, to establish six stationary posts on both sides of the border between the two republics.

NKAO Deputies Issue Appeal

NC2308190590 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
1630 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] USSR people's deputies from the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Zori Balayan, Vahan Gaprelyan, Vachakan Grigoryan, Boris Datamyan, and Genrikh Poghosyan have appealed to Soviet President Gorbachev, members of the Presidential Council, the parliaments of all the Soviet republics, the central press, and the state radio and television staff concerning the "Vremya" program.

The appeal says: It is already the [word indistinct] time that the Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] leadership is resorting to all means to convey biased reports to the public with the intention of hiding the numerous (?crimes) against the Armenians, Russians, Jews, and representatives from other Russian-speaking peoples and to justify fresh crimes. In his appeal, the president of the Azerbaijan SSR appeals to the republican supreme soviets to defend Azerbaijan from attacks by Armenian mobs.

We condemn all those methods which result in people being killed. However, Mutalibov should be asked: Why did he stay silent when numerous crimes were perpetrated in Sumgait, Baku, and on the Nakhichevan border? If the Azerbaijani leadership condemns the president of the country and says that his decree is allegedly not being implemented, then let him set the example himself by seizing the arms that have been amassed in his own republic. Do the people in the country not know that it is impossible to blockade two million people and to deport hundreds of thousands of people with empty hands? More than 200,000 Armenians were in Baku alone. And more than 700 km of the USSR state border was destroyed.

We would also like to ask: Where are all those arms? Where are the arms which are being brought into Azerbaijan through the state border? Do the Soviet people believe the baseless statements by Azerbaijani president as well as by its Internal Affairs Ministry that there are allegedly no armed groups or popular organizations in the republic? Only one example of a report on the incidents on the Soviet-Iranian border is the one published in the 9 February IZVESTIYA which said the border is crossed daily by about 200 Iranians and about the same number of Soviet citizens. It is a source of concern that these comings and goings take place mainly in the night and [word indistinct] with by armed people.

(?The objective) behind the Azerbaijani president's appeal which was published in the press today is to deceive the country's leadership and public and to justify the violence against the Armenians in the NKAO. We believe that the Soviet president's decree should be implemented without reservation. However, we also deem it necessary to [words indistinct] of the country's Supreme Soviet on February 19 and March 5 and, first and foremost, on the speeches by Bakatyn, Krichkov, and Yazov.

Ministry Aims To End Strife

NC2408124090 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
1630 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] Judging from the reports arriving at the republic's Internal Affairs Ministry, the operational situation remains tense despite a decrease in the number of crimes that are being committed. Between 16 and 22 August, 256 crimes were recorded, 146 of which cases of stolen cars and 20 of which were cases of robbery. During this period, two out of four [words indistinct] while an armed (?robbery) has not yet been [word indistinct]. During the week, 12 crimes were perpetrated [word indistinct]. An armed group of brigands was arrested in Yerevan and three Kalashnikovs, a Makarov pistol, a rifle, and four (?grenades) were confiscated. Five crimes that took place in Akhuryan, Stepanvan, Masis, and Artashat in the past have been investigated. In all cases, the reasons [words indistinct]. During the same period 39 vehicles were found and returned to their owners.

In the second half of August, the situation was exacerbated in the republic's border regions in Noyemberyan. During the attacks on Voskepar and Baghanis on 19, 20, and 21 August, five Armenians were killed and 25 were wounded. Ministry officials and militia units have been sent to the conflict area from various parts of the republic to help normalize the situation.

However, under these conditions, the pirate attacks on the internal affairs units do not end. On 20 August, in Noyemberyan, an armed group attacked a unit of the internal affairs forces and stole three automatic rifles, three guns, and ammunition. Attacks were also carried out against militia units in Idzhevan, Tumanyan, Sevan, and (?Aragats), as well as against a USSR Internal Affairs Ministry [word indistinct] unit. During the attacks, (?21) guns were stolen and six people were wounded. Following the steps taken in Tumanyan, on 22 August stolen [word indistinct] arms and [words indistinct] were returned.

The forces of the republic's Internal Affairs Ministry and of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry (?are making joint efforts) to end the interethnic conflicts and ensure the safety of residents of Noyemberyan and other districts.

Ethnic Clashes Described

PM2408124790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 Aug 90 Second Edition p 6

[Report by correspondent Z. Kadybekov: "Border on Fire"]

[Text] Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]—The situation in Azerbaijan's Kazakhskiy Rayon, where only yesterday villages were subjected to an intensive artillery bombardment by Armenian militants, is less tense. Troops of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Internal Troops and subunits of the Soviet Army and the republic's militia managed to neutralize five weapon emplacements on Armenian territory that were equipped with rocket launchers and gun mounts.

However, the results of this—the largest ever—armed attack on Azeri villages are deplorable: In the space of only three days four servicemen were killed and 20 were wounded and civilians were killed as well, including a woman.

"We regard these actions as very real aggression," Akif Rafiyev, Azerbaijan SSR deputy minister of internal affairs, said, commenting on the events. "Apart from the human casualties, rural schools, cultural facilities, and houses were destroyed and a television relay station was blown up. It was no laughing matter: They were using 'Alazan-4' rockets and firing hail guns, mortars, grenade launchers, and heavy machineguns. People were under fire from automatic weapons and snipers' rifles. There are holes as wide as 1.5 to 2 meters in the walls of intact buildings, while the village of Baganis Ayrum, which suffered the fate of Khatyn as recently as March this year and had almost been rebuilt, is in ruins again."

Yu. V. Shatalin, commander of the USSR MVD Internal Troops, and Army Formation Commander V. S. Sokolov arrived to take charge of the military and militia subunits stationed in the conflict zone. There was a meeting of leaders of Azerbaijan's Kazakhskiy Rayon and Armenia's Idzhevskiy and Noyemberyanskiy Rayons, which was attended by the two republics' deputy internal affairs ministers. Joint measures are being elaborated to normalize the situation on the border between the republics.

Azerbaijan's Polyanichko Visits Kazakhskiy Rayon

NC2308111890 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1730 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Committee for State Security has disclosed the following:

In view of the sudden worsening of the crisis as a result of the attacks from the Armenian SSR, a group of experienced Azerbaijan KGB employees arrived in the Kazakhskiy Rayon to conduct operations and organize joint activities with the Internal Troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Soviet Armed Forces

in the said rayon on 19 August. Viktor Polyanichko, second secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, and V. Guseynov, chief of the Azerbaijan KGB, arrived in the Kazakhskiy Rayon on 20 August. They examined the work that is being carried out to obstruct extremist activities.

Measures are being taken to avert the attacks from the armed Armenians and protect the peaceful people. According to initial reports, dozens of extremists have been (?captured) as a result of the operations.

The situation in the border region with Armenia continues to be tense. The units of the Soviet Army, the Internal Troops, and the KGB are controlling the situation in the adjacent rayons.

Azerbaijan Procuracy Workers Hold Meeting

Jurisprudence, Law Discussed

NC2308210790 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1730 GMT 16 Aug 90

[Text] The workers of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] procuracy organs held a meeting. Matters related to consolidating jurisprudence and the norms of law in the republic were the center of attention. In their speeches at the meeting, Elmira Kafarova, chairwoman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet; Abramov, USSR deputy procurator; (?Nazirov), chief of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Jurisprudence and Interethnic Relations Department; Gayibov, procurator of the Azerbaijan SSR; and others said that the republic's procuracy has not yet been able to fully fulfill the tasks that have been transferred to it. The process of reconstruction in the work of the procuracy organs is moving slowly.

At a time when the criminological situation in the republic requires that resolute measures be adopted to improve and strengthen the organization of the struggle waged against crime, particularly organized crime, a number of procurators have acted as mere onlookers. Their coordination of law enforcement organs' work has been unsatisfactory, and they have failed to demonstrate the required determination in obstructing violations of the law. The measures that were taken were often too late to be effective and were not preventive.

The meeting noted the need for complex organizational and practical measures to radically improve the forms and methods used in work. The meeting also expressed the hope that the new leadership of the republic's procuracy will significantly restructure the procuracy's work and strengthen its control in all areas.

The members of the presidential council of the Azerbaijan SSR and Guseynov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Committee for State Security; Asadov, Azerbaijan SSR minister of internal affairs; Talibov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Court; Akhmedova, chief

arbitrator of the Azerbaijan SSR; and Aliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Union of Lawyers; participated in the meeting.

IZVESTIYA Report Refuted

NC2408083090 *Baku Domestic Service in Azeri*
1730 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Statement issued by the Procuracy of the Azerbaijan SSR]

[Text] On 21 August, IZVESTIYA published a report from Yerevan by (Bodamyanyan) under the headline: "The Situation Has Worsened."

The report claimed that armed attacks on peaceful residents of several towns in Kazakhskiy Rayon in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] on 19 and 20 August, which left a number of people dead or wounded, were staged by [words indistinct] Armenians in the town of (Muskeper) in the Armenian SSR's Noyemberyanskiy Rayon. However, this is not true and the people of the country have been misinformed.

An investigation has established that Yerevan resident Tevovyan Tigranovich and another citizen, [name indistinct], stole an unmarked VAZ vehicle, which bore registration number 2105, and entered the town of Baganis Ayrum in Kazakhskiy Rayon on 16 August. They approached a guard post and fired on militia workers with automatic weapons, including a Makarov handgun. When their fire was returned, Tigranovich stopped the vehicle and his partner got out, holding an automatic firearm. When he saw that the militia workers were approaching, he left the firearm in the vehicle and boarded an IKARUS bus, which had Armenian SSR identification marks and which was driving past this point.

Tigranovich was captured and taken to the Kazakhskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department. An AKA-74 automatic firearm, a Makarov handgun, three explosives, 324 cartridges for automatic firearms, six cartridges for the Makarov handgun, and seven [word indistinct] for automatic firearms were discovered when the vehicle was searched. The investigation is continuing.

The republic's procuracy has sent a [word indistinct] to the editorial office of IZVESTIYA and informed the USSR Procuracy of the matter.

Journal To Be Published in Several Languages

LD2008220290 *Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri*
9 Aug 90 p 2

[Report attributed to AZERINFORM]

[Text] Union and foreign readers will receive information about important events taking place in the sociopolitical, socioeconomic, and cultural life of our republic from reliable sources and not from haphazard materials or rumors. In this respect the newspaper PANORAMA

AZERBAIJANA, a publication of the mission of the Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers under the USSR Council of Ministers, will help them.

It is planned to publish the newspaper PANORAMA AZERBAIJANA in 1991. Beginning in January the newspaper will be published in Russian and in English. Beginning in July it will be published in German, Arabic, and Turkish. The newspaper will first be published twice a month and later weekly on a format in eight pages with a circulation of 100,000. The newspaper will be published in Moscow. The price of one issue is 20 kopecks.

Trade Union Leaders on Agreement With RFSFR

LD2208191190 *Moscow TASS International Service*
in Russian 1316 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Tbilisi, 22 August (TASS)—TASS correspondent Eduard Ediberidze reports:

The leaders of the independent trade unions of the Russian Federation and Georgia have for the first time established direct contacts, by-passing the so-called center. During talks which were completed today in Tbilisi—the capital of this republic in the Transcaucasus—they worked out the text of an agreement on cooperation between the two sovereign trade union movements based on equality of rights. It encompasses a large number of issues which face the working people of the two republics now and which will face them in the future in connection with the transfer to the market economy.

"Equal partnership with all trade union movements outside the borders of the republic has been set down in the action program of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions of Georgia," said Petr Chkheidze, its chairman. "We have established such contacts for the first time with the trade union movements of the FRG, France, and Luxembourg. Intensive talks are taking place with the trade unions of Ireland, the United States, and Israel, and with the free trade unions of Lithuania. And now here is another mutually advantageous agreement with the Russian trade unions. I hope that the economic, social, and other interests of our working people that have been set down in it will be successfully implemented."

"The present agreement will go down in the history of the Russian trade union movement—which is essentially reckoned in terms of months, given that our constituent congress took place in March of this year—as the first juridical act of an international nature," noted Vasilii Romanov, deputy chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia. "I am confident that joint work will soon be established, since the imperishable principles of democratism, solidarity, and sovereignty lie at the foundations of our trade union movements."

Georgian Federal Party Chief Interviewed

90US1220A Tbilisi MOLODEZH GRUZII in Russian
13 Jul 90 pp 8-9, 12

[Report on interview with Irakliy Shengelaya, chairman of the Republic Federal Party of Georgia, by Eteri Kakabadze, published under the rubric, "Who Is Who": "Various Paths Lead to the Goal"]

[Text] [The following five paragraphs are published in a box in the middle of the article]

Biographical Sketch

Irakliy Shengelaya is the chairman of the Republic Federal Party of Georgia. He was born in 1947 in Tbilisi.

In 1971 he graduated from the Georgian Polytechnical Institute. He is an engineer by profession. He worked for five years in this specialty and then worked for three years as a teacher in Dushetskiy Rayon.

From 1979 through 1989 he worked in the Literary Museum of Georgia.

He is interested in questions of the history of Georgian philosophy of the 19th century.

He is married and has a daughter.[end box]

[Begin MOLODEZH GRUZII introduction] The unofficially established multiparty system and ideological pluralism have become an indispensable part of our lives. Whether we like it or not, each of us has been drawn into the political events which give us food for reflection each day. Any day now we will have to choose from this chorus of parties, separate the wheat from the chaff, and decide who is advancing the interests of the people and who is advancing his own personal ambitions and fighting for power.

We have already crossed the threshold in our political and civil maturity when we blindly and indiscriminately believed any idea or catchy slogan promising us the world, regardless of who proclaimed it. Naivete gives way to pragmatism and rationality. Hence the natural desire expressed in the letters from our readers to obtain complete information about each party and political platform existing in the republic. [end introduction]

[Kakabadze] Republic Federal—that is the last name given to your party and before that it changed several times. What is the reason for that, Irakliy?

[Shengelaya] This has its own explanation and its own causes, including objective ones, dictated by the changing political situation.

We began our path as the Union of National Justice. It was founded on 26 June 1988. Then the initiative group made its first statement which reflected the political views and main directions of our activity. But already about a year later, on 1-2 April 1989 to be precise, when our first congress was held, two positions became clearly

manifested—republic and liberal. The tragedy of 9 April in Tbilisi made its own adjustments to our position and prepared the soil for a split in the Union. A faction separated out from that, which called itself the Radical Right Party of Georgia. The purpose of the structural division was a redistribution of functions: Clearly expressed political activity became the prerogative of the party, and social activity—of the union. Thus the association of the Radical Right Party and the Union of National Justice was created.

But it was not long-lived either. We clarified our positions and ideas about the future structure of an independent Georgia and paths to achieving independence, and, finally, we clarified our final relations with the Head National Committee, in whose creation we had participated most actively at one time, and withdrew from it. All this took place against the background of the ethnic conflicts that were breaking out in Georgia at the time. In a word, in order for the party to retain its initial direction, we were forced to take the extreme measure—to declare the self-dissolution of the Party of National Justice and the creation of the Republic Federal Party.

[Kakabadze] Was all this transformation associated with a change in ideological views?

[Shengelaya] No, our ideological views did not change. This was rather the result of a deeper interpretation of them. When we named the party, the Party of National Justice, it seemed to us that the quintessence of our political direction was concentrated in this. But later we came to the conclusion that the name was too general because many things can be assumed under the name of national justice. Therefore we abandoned it and named ourselves the Republic Federal Party. It reflects more precisely the direction we have taken and, the main thing, the final goal of our struggle—the state structural arrangement of the future independent Georgia. We have our own viewpoint and position with respect not only to political but also social development.

[Kakabadze] That means, in other words, there was a search.

[Shengelaya] Precisely. We neither deny nor conceal that. It is impossible to live according to norms that are set down once and for all or a political course that has been adopted forever. What this leads to is shown clearly by the experience of the CPSU and other parties that are based on the centralized authoritarian principle—inflexibility of the ideological basis, a lack of doubt about their correctness, and the establishment of a monopoly on the truth. Intolerance of everything that goes beyond the established framework is generated in a situation like this. Politics is a creative and dynamic process, one that requires taking into account the time factor and the evolution of social life and social awareness. This is what we proceeded from.

[Kakabadze] Could you give us the basic points of your party's program?

[Shengelaya] The first thing I would like to note is that our party is not revolutionary. We are in favor of the restoration of the principles of political life that were lost by the Georgian Republic as a result of its annexation in February 1921. What principles are we speaking about? The first is political pluralism, the second is a free economy, the third is restoration of traditional national values, the fourth is ethical and religious tolerance, and the fifth is Georgia's place in the Caucasian and world community. These are the five basic principles that are written into our platform.

I shall enlarge on them. Political pluralism. The establishment of a multiparty system—and this is possible even now—will make it possible to establish the kind of democratic rule that exists in many countries of the world and in all rule-of-law states. With this kind of rule the actions of the government are under the control of the parliament and there is opposition within the parliament itself. And the electorate (the voters) let it be known through their votes whom they support—the ruling party or the opposition. Schematically this can be expressed as follows: electorate-government-parliament-opposition-electorate. This is the model which, in our opinion, should exist here. And this is what we should proceed toward.

[Kakabadze] Let me interrupt you, Irakli. When it comes around to a multiparty system, skeptics and sometimes fervent opponents of it put the question this way: Is a multiparty system really a panacea for all of our problems, after all are there no examples in history of the existence of infamous multiparty states?

[Shengelaya] Then I ask a question in response: What is the guarantee of freedom—multiparty rule or single party? For obvious reasons it is the former, if only because with a multiparty system there is always an alternative, which is not true of a one-party system. But there is one more nuance here. We are frequently asked: If you are in favor of a multiparty system and political pluralism why do you demand that the Communist Party disband itself, why do you not leave it with the right to exist? If one proceeds from the legal norms, the only parties that have a right to exist are those that do not profess racism, fascism, or violence. But in the Communist Party violence was supported in the point about the dictatorship of the proletariat. You will say that there is a way out: to reject this point, which many Communists have done. But then the Communist Party ceases to be the Communist Party and is transformed into a social democratic, socialist, or some other kind of left-wing party.

And another thing. We have entered a qualitatively new stage of political development. Assertions of the type that every man in the street can run his own state (which, unfortunately, was brilliantly realized in our lifetime and led to lamentable results) are extremely absurd today. Professionals and politicians and nobody else should control the state. The time is coming for political elitism. And there is nothing terrible about this. But the basis for

political elitism is created by the conditions of freedom for the development of the individual. Precisely the individual. It should be in the foreground and not the collective. Collectivism, which our totalitarian state was an adherent of, has turned man into something mediocre and faceless, a kind of socially determined biological essence. People like this are easy to control, and individuals are controlled by circumstances, the state system, social relations, laws, norms of morality, and so forth.

Then there arises the question: If we are in favor of elitism are we not thereby degrading those who are not among the elite? Of course not. Free development of the individual provides for various possibilities of realizing oneself totally. How you realize your possibilities, your capabilities, depends on you and on nobody else, and this never develops into a rigid hierarchical system. The equality we have had up to this point is a fiction. How can one equate the free person and the untalented person, the hard worker and the lazy person?...

[Kakabadze] Let us return to your program. How do you interpret questions of society's economic structure?

[Shengelaya] I have already discussed our adherence to the principles of a free economy. We are in favor of two forms of ownership—state and private. All the rest are varieties of these two. But we give priority to private property as a guarantee of the freedom of the individual. Only a market economy (I do not understand what a regulated market economy is) can bring us out of our economic impasse.

[Kakabadze] Today many of our economists are advising in favor of private ownership and the market. But still there are also many who frighten the ordinary resident by asserting that the market will lead to chaos and private ownership opens up the path to exploitation of man by man.

[Shengelaya] Thank God! This shows once again how difficult it is to restructure the mass consciousness and how strong are the communist stereotypes of the "damned" capitalists drinking the blood of the workers that have been beaten into people's heads. These Marxist maxims were forgotten long ago and have been refuted by life itself. If one takes into account the fact that every worker in the capitalist countries, if he can, will invest money in shares and become a co-owner of an enterprise and participate in the distribution of the added value (which our worker has no opportunity to do) one can figure out what kind of "exploitation" we are afraid of.

We are against economic accountability [khozraschet] and all those half measures that are now being implemented in our economy. They do not lead to improvement of the economy but rather they smack of anarcho-syndicalism. The enterprises have practically no freedom of action: No matter how hard you try, you cannot get beyond the internal framework.

[Kakabadze] A separate section of your program is devoted to traditional national values. What does this mean?

[Shengelaya] Above all, the regeneration and development of national culture and radical reforms in the areas of education, public health, demography, ecology, and social security. All these issues are worked out in detail and therefore if we were to discuss each of them in detail it would take a great deal of time.

A couple of words about the principle of religious and ethnic tolerance. This is a fairly large section of our program but it can be formulated in one sentence as follows: All cities of the republic have certain rights, regardless of their ethical and religious affiliation. Man cannot be free himself unless he recognizes the freedom of the other.

And, finally, the fifth section of the program is the position of the Georgian people in the Caucasus and the world community. History has developed in such a way that Georgia has always served as a bridge between the Caucasus and Europe. We think that we should restore this communications bridge now. Along with other parties, we support the idea of creating a common Caucasian home. We are not speaking about creating any kind of conference. We can be united if only by the desire for our common security. The Caucasian region, I am sorry to say, is the hottest point on the plane of interethnic relations. Until we solve this problem we will not extinguish the conflicts between the Armenians and Azerbaijanis, the Ingushes and Ossetians, and our relations with the Abkhazes and Ossetians, and none of us will solve the main problem—the achievement of independence. We all have the same principle of unification—to create in the Caucasus a status quo that is acceptable to every nation. This is the only position from which it is possible to speak about the future of our region. And in this matter Georgia is assigned a certain role which we must take advantage of.

[Kakabadze] The first step in this direction has already been taken by the Green Party of Georgia when it recently organized a conference of representatives of Caucasian peoples in the university.

[Shengelaya] We welcome this initiative and, in turn, we are looking for our own ways of bringing together the Caucasian peoples and the progressive forces that are operating in our region. Negotiations are already being conducted with the leaders of certain movements of the Northern Caucasus. Time will tell where all this will lead.

[Kakabadze] Irakliy, as I understand it your party has developed its own concept of the state structure of Georgia. It would be interesting to learn about it.

[Shengelaya] We have done a good deal of work on this problem. Our idea is that Georgia should be broken down into federal areas with economic and cultural self-management, and in places where ethnic minorities

live compactly there should also be national self-management. As we understand it, in terms of its federal structure Georgia is a union of self-managed lands (areas). They may also be granted legislative self-management. Why should the question of how, according to what laws, for instance, the Khevsurs should live be decided in Tbilisi? It is another matter that the laws adopted by the federal areas should not contradict general state laws. There is one constitution but the legislative initiative belongs to all the self-managed lands (areas) that comprise the state.

[Kakabadze] In a conversation with you we cannot avoid a question that is bothering many people today, namely, the split of the national liberation movement into several factions.

[Shengelaya] I think it would be more correct to speak not of the national liberation movement but of the national movement for restoration of statehood. As concerns the split about which many people are talking, I think it is a natural, predictable process. As one might expect, various parties and political forces understand and interpret in different ways the essence of independence and the path to its achievement. Therefore the mechanical consolidation people speak about is a utopia. This can only create the illusion of consolidation, which is tantamount to self-deception. And actually how can one reduce to a single whole parties which have fundamental tactical differences but also program, ideological, and philosophical differences. But, on the other hand, political pluralism enables us to make a choice of the optimal variant and follow it.

[Kakabadze] Nonetheless, while I share your idea about the impossibility of full consolidation, I cannot deny that it is still possible, if only in relative form with respect to the major ideas. For it is not breaking up but unification of progressive forces that is the shortest path to the goal.

[Shengelaya] When speaking about political goals, in this case, independence, it is not always justified to take the shortest path, for it may lead to the goal but at a high price. The path that is chosen should, above all, be comprehensively considered and weighed, and the main thing is that it should be humane. The kind of path it is is also of fundamental significance for us. Only a constitutional path is acceptable to us. I do not have in mind any specific constitution; by this concept I mean a legal path with purely parliamentary methods of struggle. No other path exists for me.

[Kakabadze] In the alignment of political forces today one can clearly see three blocks—the Coordination Center of the National Liberation Movement, the "Roundtable," and the Union of Four, which includes your party. Before the split, that is, at the April conference, one got the impression that some kind of consensus was reached around the idea of the elections of a National Congress. But subsequent events showed that what was desired had been passed off for real.

[Shengelaya] If you recall, at this conference we presented our own program statement. But we were not heard and the path we suggested was rejected. I do not know which forces took the upper hand there but fact remains fact: Our party was not accepted into the national forum. But now it turns out that we have successors who share our positions on further strategy in the form of parties and organizations included in the Union of Four and the "Roundtable" bloc also shares certain aspects our position.

[Kakabadze] What specifically was the watershed between you and the National Forum?

[Shengelaya] Above all their advocacy of such a method of struggle as civil disobedience. For us an act of disobedience is a discrete, tactical move. If we want independence we must build a state in which we want to live. And disobedience is a destructive path. I do not want you to think that I am trying to instruct anyone. Everyone decides for himself which road he will follow, but ultimately the people select what is acceptable for them and what is not and whom they will follow.

[Kakabadze] And what method of selection do you prefer, a referendum?

[Shengelaya] Georgian independence is not subject to referendum. Referendum means a nation's self-determination, and we had our self-determination on 26 May 1918. As concerns the political forces whose strategy is acceptable to the people, this will be shown in the forthcoming October elections to the Supreme Soviet of Georgia. We are placing great hopes in these elections, in the first place because they will be on a multiparty basis, and in the second place because they will be elections of a self-management organ which will express national sovereignty and in the future will generate state sovereignty and independence. This is the elementary path envisioned by international law.

[Kakabadze] Consequently your position for the forthcoming elections is set.

[Shengelaya] Yes, this time we shall participate in them. Before this we have boycotted the elections with one demand, allowing the multiparty system, and this goal has been met. Even if it is still in truncated form here it will enable us to take a serious step in selecting an organ for self-management of Georgia, a legislative organ of a qualitatively new type. Ilya Chavchavadze took this same path in his day.

We must be aware that state independence is not something that is handed down from above. Like a building, it must be built brick by brick, and the organ of self-management selected by the people on the basis of real democracy and a multiparty system must become the legal barrier between the government center and our people during the transition period. Otherwise there will be no movement forward.

[Kakabadze] Regarding the multiparty system. So far we do not have our own law on parties and therefore the majority of the opposition parties are not yet registered but nonetheless some of them are intending to participate in the elections.

[Shengelaya] I have already said that in this stage we still have a truncated multiparty system; we still have to legitimize it or, rather, fight for legitimization. Now all political parties intending to participate in the elections go through registration in the Central Election Commission, that is, they enter into political and not legal relations with the state. As for legal relations, the multiparty system cannot now exist in the true sense of the word. Why? A multiparty system presumes the abolition of the production principle for the creation of local party organizations and the recognition of the incorrectness of those political parties whose center is located outside the given state where they are formed. In a word, there are many conditions which make it impossible to introduce a multiparty system immediately. Therefore the way out is found in the registration of the parties in the Central Election Commission.

[Kakabadze] One more fine point about which I think your opinion would be of interest. The elections to the Supreme Soviet of Georgia and the elections to the National Congress will take place at almost the same time...

[Shengelaya] Our party and our bloc as a whole—which includes the Green Party of Georgia, the Liberal Democratic National Party of Georgia and the organization Democratic Elections in Georgia (DASi) will not participate in the elections of the National Congress. And here is why. I have already said that there is a constitutional path for struggle for freedom and an unconstitutional one. Both of them are envisioned by international law. But we adhere to the former. The elections of the national congress are the unconstitutional, nonparliamentary path; this is the path of disobedience which neither I nor the party I represent recognizes.

In the event that it is elected the national congress will generate a "concealed diarchy." I do not think that there is any need to explain what the threat is, not to mention the fact that it will not be recognized by the international community or the center either.

[Kakabadze] But the coordination center emphasized repeatedly in its statement that the national congress, taking on the mission of a unified expresser of the will of the people, does not intend to claim power.

[Shengelaya] But then what is a "unified expresser of the will of the people" which is, moreover, authorized to conduct international negotiations as an international legal subject and so forth? Who recognizes this legal subject in the presence of the Supreme Soviet of Georgia? The people can have only one legal subject and it alone reflects the national sovereignty. But let us be objective. What the coordination center is suggesting with the elections of the national congress would have

some justification if in the empire, God forbid, there had been a revolution equal to the catastrophe we now have. We have already had analogs in history. The national congress of Georgia elected in November 1917 immediately after the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. Before Soviet power was recognized, in Georgia they convened a national congress at which the national soviet was elected. The national soviet became the expresser of national sovereignty, and it was the one that led to state independence, having scheduled elections to the constituent meeting after this. Everything was done strictly in keeping with international norms. But the main condition that made it possible to switch over to self-management was first the February Revolution and then the October Revolution in Russia.

If one proceeds from this experience one can understand the function of the national congress. But the situation is different now and what the coordination center is proposing could lead to political destabilization and chaos. As a party of the right-centrist type, we cannot take these positions. This would take us further away from our final goal. This is why before agreeing on the elections of the national congress it is necessary to figure out all of its nuances.

[Kakabadze] The recent convocation of the extraordinary session and the events preceding it showed that even parties from the irreconcilable opposition rejected the recently prevailing idea of immediate proclamation of independence, correctly thinking that we have not yet created the corresponding political, economic, and social conditions for this. How do you envision this transition period?

[Shengelaya] I am among those who are against immediate proclamation of independence. The time for that has not come yet. The session was needed to adopt intermediate decisions. Unless it gave a legal and juridical evaluation to forced proclamation of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic it would have been impossible to move forward. And this should have been done by the current Supreme Soviet—they should have declared the power established as a result of annexation to be illegal and scheduled new democratic multiparty elections. And these elections will make it possible to create a new organ of power.

The next stage in the transition period should involve the adoption of a number of legislative acts concerning the most important issues of political, economic, and social life which will regulate the new structures in these spheres. And only after these reforms are conducted will it be possible to proclaim independence. How long this transition period will take depends on us and only on us.

[Kakabadze] Whom do you have in mind when you say "us"? Does it not turn out that our opposition generates ideas, leaving the "dirty work" for the government?

[Shengelaya] You see, without having any legal legislative authority yet, it is difficult to speak about practical actions. To this end we intend to participate in the

elections of the Supreme Soviet of Georgia in order to become a part of the legislative organ and implement in practice the reforms that have been discussed.

[Kakabadze] But some of the draft laws are already being prepared.

[Shengelaya] That is all true. And we are not sitting with our hands folded. Our block, along with the parties and organizations of the "Roundtable" and the People's Front of Georgia, has already begun to cooperate in the commission for developing the mechanism for restoration of state independence created under the Supreme Soviet of Georgia, and we are calling for all others to join, everyone who wants to work on the constructive plane and place his brick in the building of the independent state that is being constructed.

[Kakabadze] Irakli, let us try to calculate the situation with several moves ahead. Let us say the elections to the national congress have taken place...

[Shengelaya] If that were to happen the elections to the Supreme Soviet of Georgia would be undermined. I am sure of that. And then at best we would be left with the old Supreme Soviet and at worst—under a presidential parliament. I do not see any other prospects. This is possibly a gloomy prediction but I have no confidence that the national congress, if it is chosen, will not demand the retirement of the Supreme Soviet and will not assert its right to power. No matter what they say there, the "only expresser of the will of the people" is a claim to power! And if we do not dot all the "i's" now, the question of Georgian independence will put off for an indefinite period of time.

And another thing. Since many of us assert, beating our chests, that our path is the path of Ilya Chavchavadze, we should be good enough to enter onto it. And he advised in favor of self-administration of Georgia in imperialist structures. And now, blaming Soviet structures and Soviet elections, are they trying to fabricate a problem in order to justify their lack of participation multiparty elections?...

[Kakabadze] How rapidly we are able to regulate interethnic relations will be of decisive significance on the path to independence.

[Shengelaya] Undoubtedly. Unless we are able to regulate relations with ethnic minorities soon, at the time of the proclamation of independence it is quite possible that joint rule will be established in certain corners of Georgia. This cannot be allowed. When I have spoken about the reforms of the transition period I have had in mind above all regulation of interethnic relations. We think that the federal structure and the transition to cultural self-management of the territories where there are dense populations of non-Georgian people will remove all the friction that exists now, and it seems to us that such a structure of the independent Georgia will provide all the necessary legal guarantees for the ethnic minorities.

[Kakabadze] It seems to me that with the current political mix and with such a broad spectrum of political parties, the people are in an extremely difficult position. After all, as you yourself have said, ultimately they will have to make the choice of whom to follow. What do you think, will they have the wisdom to make the correct choice?

[Shengelaya] I believe in their wisdom. No matter what they say, the people are not the same as they were yesterday. Even if they are not able to figure out all the political nuances, they will be prompted by intuition. The people are essentially stable and conservative in the good sense of this concept. I am placing my hopes in these qualities of theirs.

Central Asia

Turkmen Leader Explains Sovereignty Declaration

LD2308172890 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1430 GMT 23 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The session of Turkmenia's Supreme Soviet completed its work today. Here is a reportage from Ashkhabad:

[Correspondent K. Babayev] But its agenda has not been exhausted. Immediately after the Union treaty has been concluded the session will continue its work. Without it—without the treaty—as the deputies believe, it is very difficult to settle questions of limiting the absolute power held by Union departments on Turkmenia's territory. And the most notable event in the session's work took place yesterday when the deputies approved the declaration of the republic's state sovereignty. It has been decided that 22 August will go down as a red-letter date in the calendar of Turkmenistan's notable events. [video shows session in progress; cuts to show S.A. Niyazov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Turkmen SSR (Soviet Socialist Republic) being interviewed in office]

[Niyazov] Paragraph 7 of our declaration says that republican citizenship is being established on the territory of the Turkmen SSR with retention of USSR citizenship. The Turkmen SSR ensures the equality before the law of all the republic's citizens, irrespective of their origin, of their social and property situation, of whatever race and nationality they belong to, of their sex, education, language, political views, religious convictions, type and nature of occupation, place of residence and other circumstances.

[Babayev] What do you expect from the Union treaty, Saparmurad Atayevich?

[Niyazov] We are in favor—and this has been stressed in the declaration—that we are in favor of concluding a new, renewed, Union treaty. We are in favor of a proportion of the republic's powers as regards the country's defense, as regards the introduction of scientific and

technical progress, ecology, foreign relations, being handed over to Union bodies, to the central government. But at the same time we are in favor of expanding the rights, the sovereign rights of the Union republics.

Turkmen Sovereignty Declaration Adopted

PM2308131190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
23 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Yelena Kotova: "Independence Declaration Adopted"]

[Text] Ashkhabad—The latest session of the Turkmen SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet has adopted a declaration on Turkmenia's state sovereignty.

This document, S.A. Niyazov, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, believes, is of inestimable importance for our people since it creates for the first time in Turkmenia the necessary legal guarantees for the protection of human rights. The declaration also enshrines the equality before the law of all citizens of the republic irrespective of provenance, nationality, and faith.

Exercising, as the declaration says, full power on its territory, the Turkmen SSR, while remaining within the renewed USSR, "retains the right to free withdrawal from the USSR and the entitlement to establish a political and economic system for itself." The document adopted is the basis for the elaboration of a new Turkmen SSR Constitution, the conclusion of a Union treaty, and the further improvement of the republic's legislation. The session also discussed the question of the republic's economic sovereignty and ways of switching it to market relations.

USSR Commission To Aid Kirghizia Formed

90US1291A Moscow PRAVITELSTVENNYY
VESTNIK in Russian No 30, Jul 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Commission Formed"]

[Text] The Council of Ministers has formed a commission headed by L.A. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to make a comprehensive study of developmental questions of Kirghiz SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] production forces, consolidate the material-technical base of the nonproduction sphere, and increase employment in public industry of the able-bodied population of the republic.

Guided by USSR laws "On Principles of Economic Relations Between the USSR, and Union and Autonomous Republics," "On Ownership in the USSR," "On Enterprises in the USSR," and other recently adopted legislative acts, the commission, upon its activation, is directed to draw up appropriate proposals and present them with the necessary justification to the USSR Council of Ministers within two months.

Commission Head on Union, Local Aid to Osh
90US1249B Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA
in Russian 25 Jul 90 p 1

[Report on comments by G.K. Kryuchkov, head of a USSR Supreme Soviet commission and deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, in Osh Oblast, date not given, by special correspondent N. Zenkov: "The Country Is Coming to Our Assistance"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet commission in Osh Oblast has completed its work. A SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA correspondent asked G.K. Kryuchkov, head of the commission and deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, to describe his impressions of what he had seen and the measures being adopted by the government of the country to stabilize the situation in the south of Kirghizia.

The tragedy which people of Kirghizstan are now experiencing, he declared, has had an acutely painful echo in the hearts of all Soviet people. Expressing profound condolences to all the grief-stricken and their near ones and all inhabitants of our region, they wish for the speediest surmounting of the consequences of the disaster. The USSR Supreme Soviet entrusted us, a group of people's deputies, which included, as reported, aside from myself, A. Mamedov, Yu. Solovyev, and A. Ovchinnikov, with studying the current situation on the spot and, in conjunction with the leadership of the republic and the oblast, outlining measures that might help establish peace and order on the long-suffering land. We visited many cities and villages, talked with the local inhabitants, and saw for ourselves the abyss to which national discord leads.

It is hard to believe that people whose ancestors lived alongside each other down the ages in peace and concord are at odds. A problem of internal refugees has arisen in Osh Oblast. We visited their tent encampments. People—old men, women, and children—are living there under the most difficult conditions. A start has been made on the erection of new apartment houses and the restoration of water mains in Uzgen and a number of other places from government appropriations to replace the structures ransacked and burned by extremists. The operation of hospitals, clinics, stores, bathhouses, and consumer centers is being organized. It is important to speed up this work in order that everyone may be able to go to his own home as quickly as possible.

The implementation of all these measures has been entrusted to the local soviets and enterprise leaders. But, as we have seen for ourselves, not all of them are imbued with a due sense of responsibility for what has been entrusted to them. We saw an appalling picture in a hostel of the Osh Industrial Cotton Association, to which families which had been refused accommodations by the owners of private houses had been moved. The water had been turned off there, and there was no gas. It turned

out that not one enterprise manager had visited these hostels in six weeks. Many of the conflicts have their roots in the sphere of social problems, which, in our view, are being tackled inadequately in Kirghizia, in Osh Oblast particularly. The USSR Council of Ministers has adopted a decision on assistance to the republic in an acceleration of the construction of housing, schools, and health care facilities and the development of the productive forces. A special government commission headed by L. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, has been formed, to which organization of the implementation of the planned measures has been entrusted. The country will additionally provide a certain quantity of materials and equipment and allocate monetary resources, although material and financial reserves are now extremely limited, as you know.

At the same time it would be a delusion to hope that all will now be done and that all troubles will be drained off by the center. Local leaders need to display more dispatch, initiative, and enterprise. Consumer service in the oblast is inadequate, for example. Many hands could be employed in, say, various craft workshops. I am sure also that a number of new enterprises could be created by pooling efforts with republics which are experiencing a shortage of labor resources. In general, many points of application of manpower could be found. All this would ultimately make it possible to enhance the population's well-being.

However, the main task now is restoring peace in the villages and towns worn out with confrontation and returning to normal life. Many Osh and Uzgen citizens told us at a meeting that they were tired of the constant conflicts and the fear in the face of the unabating crime wave. They begged for order to be restored.

What can be said in this connection? A state of emergency has been declared in the oblast, as you know. Army subunits and special militia units have been brought in. A barrier has hereby been erected to the unruliness of the extremists, the life and safety of the citizens are being protected, and the crimes are being carefully investigated. Rapists and killers are being booked and will be tried. This also should contribute to the establishment of justice and a stabilization of the situation. No one other than the inhabitants of the south of the republic themselves, however, can conclusively overcome the alienation and restore solid peace. The sooner everyone understands that only interethnic reconciliation leads to prosperity, the more quickly the present situation will be overcome. The path is difficult, of course. It is necessary to forgo personal grievances and national ambitions. This will not be achieved immediately; there are no easy solutions in such a delicate matter.

Village gatherings and discussions at the dastarkhan of the representatives of different nationalities are being held in many places. This is good and necessary. We

were told that not every meeting would have the anticipated result, but there should be no despair. It is necessary to repeat the discussion a second, a third... a tenth time. Good sense and the truth will ultimately prevail.

Big hopes in this noble mission are being placed in the wise elders, the intelligentsia, the women's councils, and Afghan veterans. And the majority of the young people also understands that only on a foundation of mutual tolerance and benevolence is it possible to build normal relations of the representatives of all nations and peoples. And, in fact, there is nothing to divide up between them. Consequently, it is necessary to behave as good neighbors. I believe that peace and tranquillity will come to your land once again.

Kazakh Oblasts Revived, Elections Upcoming

90US1291B Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
21 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by E. Matskevich, IZVESTIYA correspondent, Alma-Ata: "Kazakhstan Oblasts Restored"]

[Text] The presidium of the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet has adopted a resolution on the formation of Mangistauskaya Oblast and the restoration of Turgay Oblast. The first sessions of these oblast soviets will be convened on 20-21 August.

The oblast centers in Mangyshlak and Turgay were abolished several years ago. This was explained by virtue of a reduction in the apparatus and simplification of government structures. But few thought at that time about how this would influence the life of the population, the economic and social development of a whole number of rayons situated in adverse climate zones and isolated from their centers as well. At that time, for example, they divided the Turgay territory between Kustanay and Tselinograd, and transferred the huge Mangyshlak area to the jurisdiction of Guryev. Quite frankly, the leadership of the expanded oblasts did not pamper the new regions with attention; their inhabitants, farm and enterprise leaders had to spend several days structuring simple procedures or resolving ordinary production issues.

Deputies and the population of dozens of rayons therefore repeatedly wrote letters to the Supreme Soviet, the republic government, and newspapers, requesting that the status of the former oblasts be reinstated. The president of the republic, in turn, issued an ukase directing the government to study the problem and present proposals. A special commission substantiated the demands of the people and considered it advisable to meet them.

A whole number of rayons formerly abolished will be restored and, according to law, additional elections of deputies of local soviets will be held over the course of three months.

The center of Mangistauskaya Oblast (the new name sounds more local) will again be the city of Shevchenko, and that of Turgay Oblast will be the city of Arkalyk. The government apparatus of the oblasts, whose permanent staff was reduced over these years, will occupy the old administrative premises. Thus, special expenses are not envisaged.

Once again there are 19 oblasts in Kazakhstan.

New Kazakhstan Oblast Party Secretary Elected

LD2108182190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1400 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] As has already been reported, the presidium of the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet has formed the Mangitzausk Oblast within the borders of the previously abolished Mangyshlak Oblast, with the town of Shevchenko as its center. A gathering of the oblast party economic aktiv took place there today, and then a plenum of the Mangitzausk Oblast party committee, which considered an organizational issue. Comrade Novikov, who had worked as chairman of the Guryev Oblast Executive Committee, was elected first secretary of the oblast committee. Nazarbayev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the plenum.

Tajik Supreme Soviet To Discuss Sovereignty

PM2308114090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent L. Makhkamov: "Toward Republic Sovereignty"]

[Text] Dushanbe, 21 Aug—The pitch of passionate feelings manifested at the very outset of the second session of the Tajik SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, which opened today, during approval of the agenda, shows that the deputies will not be wasting their time. In addition to the 26 items submitted by the Supreme Soviet Presidium deputies also proposed the following, among others: the depoliticization of the courts, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the KGB, and the Prosecutor's Office; the combining of state posts with elected party offices; the transfer of some of the Tajik Communist Party's property to ownership by all the people; and revision of the state management structure.

A statement was delivered on the improper remarks of B.N. Yeltsin regarding the peoples of Central Asia which the chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet allowed himself during his trip to the Kuzbass.

The people's deputies have to discuss and adopt at the current session very important laws, the implementation of which will determine the effectiveness of the republic's economic complex in conditions of a market economy and contractual relations with the other Union

republics: laws on ownership in the Tajik SSR, leasing, local self-government, local economy, constitutional oversight, and others.

The adoption of the Declaration on the State Sovereignty of the Tajik SSR will be a most important event.

Islamic Party Newcomer to Tajik Political Scene

PM2308084990 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA

PRAVDA in Russian 18 Aug 90 p 1

[Report by M. Alimov: "Islamic Party"]

[Text] In addition to the mass people's movement "Birlik" ("Unity"), the International Union and democratic party "Erk" ("Freedom") have now also been formed in Uzbekistan. We learned literally the other day that the Association of Individual Farm Owners is preparing to hold its constituent congress (last year alone, more than 1.2 million peasants obtained or expanded their own subsidiary plots).

And the Islamic Democratic Party has recently appeared on the political map....